

A HISTORY
OF THE
SO-CALLED JANSENIST
CHURCH OF HOLLAND;
WITH
A SKETCH OF ITS EARLIER ANNALS,
AND SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE.

BY THE
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&c., &c.

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“ And I see the good ship riding, all on a perilous road ;
The low reef booming on her lea ; the swell of ocean poured,
Sea after sea, from prow to stern ; the mainmast by the board ;
The bulwarks down ; the rudder gone ; the boats stove at the chains :
But courage still, brave mariners ! the ANCHOR yet remains ;
And that will flinch—no, never an inch ! until ye pitch sky-high ;
Then it gently moves, as if it said, ‘ Fear nought, for here am I ! ’ ”

The Forging of the Anchor.

284.82
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TO
THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY,
THIS HISTORY OF A CHURCH
WHICH, CUT OFF FROM THE COMMUNION OF ROME,
HAS CLUNG FAST TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH,
AND SUFFERED
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PRIMITIVE DOCTRINE,
IS, BY HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
DEDICATED.

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PREFACE.

It was in the spring of the year 1851 that, during the course of a visit at Utrecht, I became acquainted with the venerable Archbishop of that See, and interested in the history of the Church over which he presides. At that time there was, I believe, not a single work in English which treated of the subject; nor was there any book, not out of print, whether French or Dutch, which gave any detailed account of the fortunes of the so-called Jansenists of Holland. The information generally possessed by English Churchmen, with respect to the Church of Utrecht, was about as full and as accurate as that contained in Murray's "Handbook of Holland:"—"Utrecht is the head-quarters of the Jansenists, a sect of dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church, who object to the Bull of Pope Alexander VII. condemning as heretical certain doctrines of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres. They scarcely exist in any number, except in Holland, where they are now reduced to five thousand."

From the time that I first became acquainted with the story of its afflictions and its endurance, it has always been my wish to give English Churchmen the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the history of the Church of Holland; and having, through the kindness of the Archbishop himself, and

several of his ecclesiastics, amassed a considerable number of the most important and rarest books on the subject, I have kept my plan in view from that time to this, and the result is now presented to the reader.

Shortly after my first visit to Utrecht, Dr. Tregelles, so well known for his works on Biblical criticism, published a short general history of the "Jansenists," some pages of which were devoted to their proceedings in Holland. In a review of that work for the "Christian Remembrancer" of January, 1852, I endeavoured to give a more detailed account of that body than had before appeared in English; and some passages in the following pages are quoted from that and from another article contributed by me to the same Review, on the "Mystic Theology of Holland."

In the October of 1854, I spent a week at Utrecht, for the purpose of examining the Archives, which were most unreservedly placed at my disposal by the kindness of the Archbishop. Of the great value and importance of those Archives I shall have occasion to speak more at length hereafter.

I have in the Appendix given so very full a list of the works which treat of the history of the Church of Utrecht since the great schism, that I need here only mention a few of the subsidiary helps which I have employed in my task.

The Introduction contains a sketch—for it professes to be nothing more—of the annals of French "Jansenism," some acquaintance with which is absolutely necessary to the right understanding of the more immediate subject of my work. In this I have been under greater obligations to the Abbé Guettée's noble *Histoire de l'Église de France* than to any other book,—

not forgetting, however, the works of S. Cyran, Nicole, and Arnauld, and the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*.

Mr. Dalgairns has published a work entitled "The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus," with—what he calls—an Introduction on the History of Jansenism. I only mention the book because it would be difficult to find a single page in the Introduction which does not contain the grossest, and sometimes positively ludicrous, errors. To take an example or two. It is said that—"the principal evidence on which S. Cyran was sent to Vincennes was that of S. Vincent de Paul." S. Vincent was never even interrogated regarding S. Cyran till after the imprisonment of the latter, and remained, as we shall see at p. 6, his friend till his death. A little further on, Mr. Dalgairns says, "In one of S. Vincent's letters the following passage occurs;" and he then quotes an extract not to be found in S. Vincent's letters anywhere, but taken from his biography by Abelly, and which the biographer himself had to retract. Again, he says, p. 27, "One of the chiefs of the Jansenist party wrote a book against frequent Communion." It is only to be hoped that Mr. Dalgairns has never opened the work of Arnauld's to which he alludes, or such a statement would be worse than an error. Once more: "It was one of their opinions that absolution was invalid if it were given before the penance imposed were performed." Compare this with the formal statement of the Articles of Louvain, and the second Council of Utrecht: "The procrastination of absolution is sometimes necessary, sometimes useful, sometimes pernicious." I have said enough to give an idea of the general amount of truthfulness which characterizes the "Introduction."

In the history of Utrecht itself I have principally

followed the thread of De Bellegarde's narrative, (*Histoire Abregée de l'Eglise Metropolitaine d'Utrecht*), the third edition of which having been commenced by the Abbé Van der Hoeven, now with God, was published in 1852, by my friend the Abbé Karsten, rector of the Seminary at Amersfoort. But it is the thread of narration only which I have followed,—having dwelt on some subjects at much greater length, and on others with far more brevity, than De Bellegarde. Thus, the acts of the Second Council of Utrecht, which I have related with considerable fulness, are dismissed by him in a few lines: thus, also, I have compressed into a few pages the events which occurred previous to the disestablishment of the National Church, and the elevation of Sasbold Vosmeer to the Vicariate Apostolic. The *Batavia Sacra*, the *Historia Episcopatum fœderati Belgii*, and its enlarged translation, the *Kerkelijke Historie en Outheden der zeven vereenigde Provinciën*, have always been at my side; and the works mentioned in the Appendix have, with scarcely an exception, been consulted either in England or in Holland.

Of books not mentioned there I may specify:—For the History of the Brothers of the Common Life, the very interesting *Verhandeling over de Broederschap van Geert Groote*, by G. H. M. Delprat (Second Edition, Arnheim, 1856). The author, though a Protestant, enters well into his subject, and has produced a very instructive book. Several papers in the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, published by Professors Kist and Royaards. The works of Thomas à Kempis, Henry Herph, and Gerlach Petersen. The *Athenæ Belgicæ* of Francis Sweertius, (Antwerp, 1628). For the main body of the history, the superb edition of the works of Arnould, edited by De Bellegarde, in 49 volumes, (1775 to 1781). The edition of Van

Espen, in three folio volumes (Louvain, 1767). The *Mémoires Historiques sur l'affaire de la Bu'le "Unigenitus"* dans les Pays-Bas Autrichiens, &c. (1755). The *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, (4 volumes, Antwerp, 1752,) one of the most furiously Molinist books ever printed, but valuable from its references to the contents of scarce and forgotten pamphlets. I may add the *Leven van Martinus Steyaert, beshryder van het Jansenistendom*, by E. A. Dobbelaere, Ghent. Bellegarde's History ends in 1784. The works on which I thenceforth depend are given in the Appendix. To these I must add the *Handelingen van de Regering en de Staten-Generaal over de Grondwets-Bepalingen nopens de Godsdienst*, (Schiedam, Roelants, 1854,) which gives an excellent account of the troubles occasioned by the intrusion of the new Roman hierarchy in that year.

I have now to express my thanks, in the first place, to the venerable Archbishop of Utrecht, Monseigneur Van Santen, for his kindness in supplying me with books, directing me by letter to sources of information which I could not have discovered for myself, and assisting me in every way during my visits to Utrecht. For similar kindness I should have had to thank the late Canon Van Werckhoven, had he lived to read a book which I think he would have perused with interest; as I now have to thank the Abbé Karsten, of Amersfoort, and the Canon Mulder, pastor of the Church of S. Gertrude in den Hoek at Utrecht. Nor must I forget the kindness of the Ven. Archdeacon Otter, and of F. H. Dickinson, Esq., in supplying me with "Jansenist" works from their libraries. Whatever importance the Annals of the Church of Utrecht must always have possessed, they undoubtedly have acquired increased interest now,

when the Ultramontanism of such works as the *Univers*, and the new school of French theologians, and also the promulgation of the Bull *Ineffabilis*, has revived the ardour and the devotion of the old Gallican party, the party of Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, and Bossuet. The sympathy felt by this school with the oppressed Church of Holland is not obscurely expressed in its historical masterpiece, the Abbé Guettée's History ; in the respect and veneration with which he speaks of the present head of that communion, Archbishop Van Santen.

One more remark may not be out of place. The part which the Jesuits have played in the oppression of the Church of Utrecht obliges an historian of that communion to dwell on the dark, with scarcely any reference to the bright, side of that wonderful Society. The *Ubi male, nemo pejus* is certainly demonstrated in the following pages ; but God forbid that we should forget the other part of the same proverb, when we remember the exertions of the Company in Japan, in Cochin-China, in Paraguay, in North America,—*Ubi bene, nemo melius*.

Nov. 20, 1857.

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INTRODUCTION.

A SKETCH

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

SO-CALLED JANSENISM

IN FRANCE.

INTRODUCTION.

1. ON a winter's evening of the year 1630, two personages, both learned, both zealous, both reformers, were seated in a student's room in Paris, and discussing the state of the Church. The one, tall, stern, pale, harsh, commanding, looked every inch an ascetic; the other, words, eyes, manner impregnated with love, the true missionary to a miserable people. The name of the former was Jean du Verger de Hauranne, Abbat of S. Cyran; that of the latter, Vincent de Paul: the one the great saint, the other, according to Ultramontane teaching, the great heresiarch, of the seventeenth century.

2. Who were these two men, and what their past life? Let us begin with the saint. A priest, yet directing the holiest bishops of his time; a *roturier*, yet the companion of nobility; a saint, yet the favourite of a corrupt court; a Catholic, yet beloved by heretics; how did he acquire his name and his influence in the Church? He had been a slave in Morocco, and there his heart was touched with that love which became the guiding principle of his life. Hence that most blessed institution, the Sisters of Charity. Hence, when the armies of this world swept and re-swept over miserable Lorraine,—when fields lay fallow for years,—when wolves boldly entered villages and

towns,—when the hearths of cottages and mansions were alike fireless during the winter,—when mice, rats, and adders were publicly sold, and bought at enormous prices,—when the starvation in the villages was so fearful, that men shut their eyes as they passed,—when, to use the words of an eye-witness, the peasants that wandered about were like “skeletons covered with tanned sheep’s-leather,”—when high-born ladies sold their honour to the brutal soldiers of Germany or France, that their children might not die before their eyes,—then this true servant of God poured *his* army of missionaries over the devoted country. They, taking their lives in their hands, in perils from pestilence, marauders, wild beasts, went out into the highways and hedges. Alms were absolutely rained in upon them from Paris. Death thinned their ranks; but Vincent, like a determined general, maintained his post, and poured in fresh soldiers to supply the place of the fallen. They took the infant from the breast of the dead mother; they set free the ecclesiastic from drawing the plough like a beast; they rescued women from perilling their salvation for a piece of bread; they lived the lives of angels; and “they died,” says a contemporary, “as I pray and beseech God that I may die.” The expenses of this holy war were reckoned at £400,000. The same charity planted missionaries in Harris and Lewis, in Benbecula and the Uists, in islands that since the Reformation had never seen a minister of any sect; consoled the Roman Catholics of Ireland under the savage persecution of Cromwell; entered the dark and fetid holds of the galleys, and turned many a prisoner from darkness to light; solaced the captives of Algiers and Tunis; ransomed them for their return, or fortified them for their martyrdom. Thence,

His labours
in Lorraine.

too, foundlings, rescued from the horrors of the *Rue S. Landri*, became the special charge of the *Ladies* of The Ladies of Charity. Charity; thence, when the funds of the new institution were totally inadequate to the work in hand, Vincent called together its supporters, and "I appeal to you," said he, "no longer as their mothers, but as their judges: pronounce, if you will, the sentence of their death: I proceed to take your votes." Necklaces, bracelets, jewels, rings, caskets then,—broad lands and fair houses afterwards,—were poured in to the succour of the helpless children; and to that decision, and to that priest, a million of infants owe their lives annually in all parts of the world. Such was the great saint of the seventeenth century.

3. We now come to him whom Ultramontanes call its great heresiarch—the Abbé de S. Cyran. His fortunes are so interwoven with those of his ally, Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, that we must pursue them together. Jansen, born in 1585, near Leerdam, in Holland, was educated first at Utrecht, and then at Louvain, where he formed an acquaintance with Jean du Verger, with whom he visited Paris, and afterwards Bayonne, the native place of his friend. Hence he returned to Louvain, was made Principal of the College of S. Pulcheria, Professor of Holy Scripture, and finally Bishop of Ypres. This see he only held six months, being carried off by the plague in 1636. Hauranne became Vicar-General of Poitiers, and obtained the abbey of S. Cyran, by the name of which he is generally known. Here he formed the acquaintance of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, with whose family and the family of Arnauld. he removed to Paris, and became intimate with their connexions. The elder Arnauld was manager of the estates of the Abbey of Port Royal, and by his means De Hauranne was there introduced, and acquired

great influence. Agnes and Angelica, in particular, the daughters of Arnauld, received his instructions with avidity, and venerated him as a saint. Accused of false doctrine, he was imprisoned in the Château de Vincennes, and after seven years' confinement, was released only to die, in 1643.

His death
and high
reputation.

4. But it was Vincent de Paul who consoled De Haumanne in his long imprisonment; who was constantly subjected to interrogatories intended to draw from him some censure of the prisoner's doctrines; and who, when the corpse was lying in the Church of S. Jacques de Hautpas, was the first to sprinkle it with holy water. And the literary organ of that day, the *Gazette de France*, tells us that the dying man "received the viaticum with a piety worthy of his eminent virtue: the prelates who are at present in town, wishing to give a public testimony of their esteem for so great a personage, recognised by all as one of the most learned men of the present day, attended his funeral; the Bishop of Amiens performing the service, and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and the Bishops of Valence, Chalcedon, Aire, and the coadjutor of Montauban, assisting at the ceremony."

The *Petrus Aurelius*.

5. It was Jansenius and S. Cyran who had early agreed to dedicate their talents to the exposure and overthrow of the entire system of the Jesuits as regarded the Doctrine of Grace on the one hand, and the Discipline of the Church on the other. The question of Discipline was undertaken by S. Cyran, and treated at full length in his celebrated work called *Petrus Aurelius*. The immediate occasion of its composition was as follows. Urban VIII. had, in the year 1625, sent into England Dr. Smith, with the title of Archbishop of Chalcedon, and with jurisdiction over all English Roman Catholics. The Jesuits attacked the

Bishop in every possible way ; one of their number, named Floyd, published a work which was completely subversive of all episcopal rights whatever, and which was denounced by the Roman clergy in England, and by the University of Douay. The question was warmly agitated in France ; and it was then that the *Petrus Aurelius* appeared, and immediately became the grand object of attack to the whole Company. They were compelled, however, to disavow Floyd's book ; while S. Cyran's work, which acquired a continually-increasing reputation, was formally approved by the assembly of the French clergy in 1642, ordered to be printed in a handsome manner at their expense, and to be presented to every Bishop and Chapter throughout the kingdom. One may still see in the cathedral libraries of France those three huge folios, bound, according to the Assembly's order, in tooled calf ; and probably eliciting from the ecclesiastical librarian the simple remark, *Mais c'est tout-à-fait Janséniste*. Thus was S. Cyran's part of the compact performed ; and it will be observed that the name *Aurelius* is also that of the great Bishop of Hippo, whose sworn disciples both the friends were. But the work of Jansenius, if not more learned than that of his coadjutor, became far more celebrated ; and produced an effect on the whole history of the Western Church for the succeeding 150 years which probably no other volume ever occasioned. I allude, of course, to his *Augustinus* ; in which he endeavoured to restore the theology of the seventeenth century to the doctrine of the saint who has always been regarded as *the* Doctor of Grace,—Augustine. Before speaking further of this work itself, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the then state of the controversy.

Origin of
the work.

Printed at
the expense
of the as-
sembly of
French
clergy.

6. We shall see, in the second chapter of this His-

The Church of Holland supports the Doctrine of Grace.

Baius.

tory, that the great reformers of Holland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ruysbroek, Geert Groote, Herph, Thomas à Kempis, and their companions, brought most prominently forward the Augustinian Doctrine of Grace. Partly in consequence of their labours, the same tendency had long characterized the University of Louvain. Baius, a predecessor of Janse-
nius in his professorial chair, had openly accused the Jesuits of Pelagianism, and was in his turn accused by them of Calvinism. Seventy-six propositions extracted from his works, though not ascribed to him by name, were condemned by Pope Pius V., and the Professor himself had been compelled to sign the condemnation.

The work of Molina denounced.

7. The Augustinian party were not slow in returning the attack; and it was resolved to make an example of Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, Professor of Theology at Evora in Portugal, whose work "On the Concord of Free-will with Grace and Predestination," published in Lisbon in 1588, was supposed to be the most Pelagian of any composition of the Jesuits. The Dominicans were the principal assailants; the Franciscans and Jesuits resolved to make the doctrine their own. The affair was brought before the Inquisition. The Universities of Louvain, Douay, and Salamanca stood forward in defence of Augustinianism. Baronius in vain besought the Jesuits not to defend Molina. "I confess," he writes, under date of March 15, 1603, "that I cannot read the books of Molina without indignation: one might say that his sole aim was to condemn S. Augustine, to reproach him with negligence, and to prove that, on these questions of Grace, his own lights were far superior to those of that great bishop, to whom he affects never to give the name of Saint. Can one see such ostentation without disgust? He glides like a serpent from the hands that

would grasp him, so that it is easier to prove his temerity than to convince him of heresy. However, I have marked more than fifty expressions or propositions that savour of Pelagianism or Semi-Pelagianism." But bolder counsels prevailed. The work of Molina had obtained the approbation of the General Aquaviva, and to desert one was to condemn the other. The Jesuits built their hopes on the condemnation of Baianism, and on the fourth canon of the sixth session of the Council of Trent. The question was referred by Clement VIII. to the memorable Congregations *de Auxiliis*.

It is not necessary to our purpose to enter into the history of those congregations. Carried on under Clement till 1605, the year of that Pope's death, they were resumed under Paul V., and finished in 1607. They censured the delated propositions of Molina as severally Pelagian, Semi-Pelagian, or approaching to Pelagianism; and a Bull, which is still extant, for their condemnation was prepared. But the Pope—who, like a successor of his in the next century, "wished to live"—dared not publish it. "It was reserved," he said, "till a convenient time:" which convenient time has never yet arrived.

8. The system of Molina, if *very* charitably expounded, as it is by Ultramontanes of the present day, resolves itself into the following propositions:—1. God, by the knowledge of simple intelligence, sees all that is possible, and consequently all the orders of possible things. 2. By His hypothetical knowledge, He foresees certainly what, in each of these possible orders each created will, using its own liberty, will do, if God gives it such and such a grace. 3. He wills, with an antecedent and true will, to save all men, on condition

The Congregations
de Auxiliis.

The system
of Molina.

that they are willing to save themselves,—that is, to act in correspondence with the graces which He shall give them. 4. He gives to all as much help as is necessary and sufficient to their salvation, though He gives more to some than to others. 5. The grace given to angels and men in the state of innocence is not efficacious in and by itself: in a part of the angels it became efficacious by the good use made of it; in man it was inefficacious, because resisted. 6. So it is in fallen nature. No absolute decrees, efficacious by themselves, and antecedently to God's prevision of free consent on the part of the human will: therefore no predestination to eternal life before prevision of merits, no predestination to eternal damnation before prevision of sins. 7. The will of God to save all men, even in the state of fallen nature, is true, sincere, and active; it sent Jesus Christ to be the Saviour of man; and it is by virtue of this will, and of the merits of Jesus Christ, that He gives to all, in a greater or less degree, grace sufficient to salvation. 8. God, by His hypothetical prescience, sees with absolute certainty what man, placed in such and such circumstances, and assisted by such and such grace, will do or will not do; by consequence He foresees who would use grace ill, and who well. When He determines, absolutely and efficaciously, to convert any soul, or to dispose it to perseverance, He forms in Himself the decree to give to that soul the graces to which He foresees that it will consent, and with which it will persevere. 9. By the knowledge of vision, involved in this decree, He sees who they are that will persevere in well-doing; who they are that will do ill, or will not persevere in doing well. In consequence of this prevision, He predestines the former to eternal glory, and the latter to

eternal damnation. To which^a, in fairness, must be added, 10. The *sufficient* grace, which is, as it were, a watchword of the party, means grace which is *insufficient*, UNTIL, by its adhesion, the will of man renders it efficacious. And this is the venom of the whole system, because, however the fact may be glossed over, it subjects, in fact, the will of God to the will of man. We shall have occasion to recur to this subject a little further on.

9. About twelve years after the suspension of the Papal Bull *de Auxiliis*, Jansenius commenced his great work the *Augustinus*. In this he attempted to de-^{The Augustinus.}velope the teaching of S. Augustine on grace. He devoted to it the patient labour of twenty years, and is said to have read the entire works of that father as many times. Modern "improvements" at Louvain have destroyed the tower in which he was traditionally said to have occupied himself in the labour of his life. The work was still manuscript when the author was seized with the plague, and he recommended it to his chaplain, to his friend, the Doctor Libert-Fromond, and to Henry Calenus. Arrangements were made by them with the leading bookseller at Louvain, by name Zegers, (I suppose of the same family which gave one of his Christian names to the great Van Espen,) for its publication. By the treachery of a workman, some of the proof-sheets were seen by the Jesuits. Representations were made both to Rome and to the faculty of theology at Louvain, that both Paul V. and Urban VIII. had expressly forbidden the publication of any work on the subject of grace. The University summoned the printer, and forbade his proceeding further. Zegers represented the injustice of leaving him with

^a The first eight propositions are given as interpreted by Rohrbacher, who adroitly slurs over the last in the 4th and 6th.

Its publi-
cation.

two-thirds of so enormous a work on his hands, and demanded a formal hearing. Temporising with the University, he made his men work by relays night and day, and to the surprise of every one the *Augustinus* was one morning exposed for sale, with a dedication to the Cardinal Infant, Governor of the Low Countries. This was in 1640, and shortly afterwards a reprint appeared in Paris.

Abstract
of its con-
tents.

10. A brief outline of this celebrated work is almost necessary, and may at least give a truer idea of its nature than the character bestowed on it by a late pretended historian of the Church: "Mahomet, Spinoza, Jansenius—it is all one and the same thing^b." In the first volume, which contains eight books, Jansenius examines the tenets of the Pelagians and the Semi-Pelagians, and enquires in what exact points their heresy consisted, thus shewing that their dogmas, and those of the Molinists, were in point of fact one and the same.

In the second volume he proves, as a preliminary consideration, 1. That the truths and mysteries of Christianity, and especially that of grace, are not to be judged by natural reason, but depend on a superior authority; that they cannot therefore be decided by human ratiocination, but by the purest and most certain light,—Holy Scripture, Councils, and Fathers: 2. That the Church acknowledges S. Augustine as her Doctor on the matter of grace, and that she has no other doctrine than that of this great saint: 3. That consequently we are bound to follow that which Holy Scripture has discovered, that which the Councils have defined, that which S. Augustine, and the other Fathers who follow him, have taught. He next treats

^b This sage observation is to be found in the fifth section of the eighty-seventh book of the Abbé Rohrbacher's History.

of the grace bestowed on, and the blessedness enjoyed by, angels, and by man before his fall, reducing into its due order all that S. Augustine has written on the subject. He proceeds to dwell, in the same way, on the miserable consequences of the fall, and the bondage and darkness of concupiscence and ignorance in which men were held till the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, had appeared. Lastly, he treats of the state which theologians call *of pure nature*; and shews that to admit the possibility of such a state is to overthrow all the principles of the doctrine which S. Augustine maintained till his death, against the Pelagians, and to deny the necessity of grace.

In the third volume he treats of the cure of man, and of the re-establishment of the liberty which he had lost by sin. He arranges, with great clearness and skill, everything that S. Augustine has said of the necessity and efficaciousness of grace, and argues in defence of absolute and gratuitous predestination against the Pelagians and the Semi-Pelagians.

11. As soon as the *Augustinus* had appeared, the Jesuits lost no time in attacking it by a series of theses. Both the book and the theses were condemned by Urban the Eighth, in his Bull *In Eminenti*, of March 6, 1642: but this Bull was never legally published in France, and was not accepted by the Sorbonne. Jansenius was also attacked by Habert, afterwards Bishop of Vabres, and the editor of the Greek Pontifical; and defended by Antoine Arnauld, on whom the mantle of S. Cyran appeared to have descended.

This great man, known in his own age as *the Doctor*, was the twentieth and youngest son of the advocate Arnauld, who had distinguished himself by opposing, before Henri IV., the re-establishment of the Jesuits

in France. That Society was not in the habit of forgetting an injury, and the whole family was regarded by them as their natural enemies. He early attached himself to S. Cyran, and before the appearance of the *Augustinus*, had distinguished himself in his various theses for academical degrees, by his defence of the doctrine of grace, as well as his opposition to the corrupted casuistry of the age. In December, 1641, he received his Doctor's bonnet from the Sorbonne, and shortly afterwards published his celebrated work "On Frequent Communion."

The re-
cluses of
Port Royal.

12. Eight years previously, a young and rising advocate, by name Le Maistre, nephew to Antoine Arnauld, had, touched by the exhortations of S. Cyran, resolved on renouncing the world, and leading a life of retirement and penitence. One can imagine the astonishment and good-natured contempt with which, in that luxurious and worldly age, the Chancellor, one winter's morning, received the letter which contained his resolution, and how strongly he deprecated the loss to the Parisian bar. When S. Cyran was imprisoned in Vincennes, Le Maistre, with one or two friends who had joined him, and Singlin, a priest, who was their director, retired to the then deserted, afterwards world-famous, convent of Port-Royal-des-Champs. Here, with him, came also Arnauld d'Andilly, eldest brother of the Doctor, Arnauld himself, Le Maistre de Sacy, brother of the advocate, Pascal, Nicole, Tillemont,—names, every one, that will never die; Hamon, Dufossé, Fontaine, and others of equal piety: and the life of austerity, and piety, and learning that they led in a place which to Parisians must have seemed a distant exile, recalled the better ages of the Church. A violent effort was made by the Jesuits to procure the censure of the work "On Frequent Com-

munion;" it was subjected to a rigid examination at Rome, and came forth scatheless. The Society was not disposed to acquiesce in its defeat, and resolved to retaliate on the *Augustinus*.

13. It was on the first day of July, 1649, that the struggle really began. On that day Nicolas Cornet, Syndic of the Faculty of Theology, laid before the Sorbonne seven propositions, which he affirmed to be extracted from the *Augustinus*. These, afterwards reduced in number, became the Five famous Propositions, the Lambeth Articles of the Roman Church. They were as follows:—

(1.) Some commandments of God are impossible to some righteous men, even when, with all their might, they are endeavouring to keep them, according to the present strength which they have: also the grace, by which they may become possible, is wanting to them.

Cornet
delates
the Five
Proposi-
tions.

(2.) Internal grace, in the state of fallen nature, is never resisted.

(3.) To merit and demerit, in the state of fallen nature, liberty from necessity is not required in man, but only liberty from constraint.

(4.) The Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of internal prevenient grace for all good works, even for the commencement of faith: but it was in this that they were heretical—that they would have that grace to be such as the human will could either resist or obey.

(5.) It is Semi-Pelagian to affirm that Christ died or shed His blood absolutely, for all men.

14. A surreptitious semi-censure having been obtained from the Sorbonne, and forwarded to Rome, the Augustinian party appealed to the Parliament. Matters seemed in a fair way of being composed, when the Bishop of Vabres addressed a letter to the Pope,

requesting him to take cognizance of the affair; and having obtained the assistance of S. Vincent de Paul, who, with the charity that thinketh no evil, believed the Jesuit party on their own words, he procured the signatures of about ninety bishops^c: the whole affair was carried on in an underhand manner, and excited

The appeal
to Rome.

the greatest indignation when discovered. The Archbishops of Sens and Toulouse, and eleven bishops, wrote to Innocent X., and protested against the step that had been taken: the cause, they said, should be heard and determined, at least in the first instance, on the spot where it had arisen.

For Innocent X. then filled the chair of S. Peter. Of an easy, jovial disposition, he made little pretensions to be a theologian. Leaving that sort of affairs to his secretary, Cardinal Chigi, afterwards Alexander VII., he was sufficiently occupied with the hospitalities of the Papal court, with his alms, which were considerable, and with composing the quarrels of his sister-in-law and niece. By him, five cardinals and thirteen consultors were appointed to examine the propositions. It will be well that the reader should have a distinct idea of the questions really at stake, and I could hardly state them so briefly and so lucidly, as by employing the words of the Abbé Guettée^d, in his admirable history:—

Systems of
S. Augustine
and
S. Thomas.

“It is well known that the two schools of S. Augustine and S. Thomas are opposed to that of Molina on the question of grace. The Thomists make its efficacy depend on external circumstances, to which they apply the general name of *physical premotion*: but they admit that grace infallibly attains its effect by itself; that is to say, without any need that man should render it *efficacious* by the free adhesion of

^c The number is variously reckoned at from 70 to 98: the names were not given till long afterwards. Guettée, x. 311.
^d Histoire, x. 309.

his will. The action of grace is nevertheless such, according to this system, that the will adheres without constraint, and that the free will of man is not violated.

“The Augustinians agree with the Thomists, but with this difference : instead of *physical premotion*, they admit a moral, or interior premotion, to which they attribute the same effects as those allowed by the Thomists.

“Besides efficacious grace, that is, the grace which infallibly produces its effect, the Augustinians, like the Thomists, recognise another, — actual and interior grace, — to which man does not always yield : the Thomists call it *sufficient* ; the Augustinians, following their teacher, term it *excitant*. They regard the expression of the Thomists as incorrect, since it is impossible, say they, to call that grace *sufficient* which is *not* sufficient to determine, in an infallible manner, the will of man. Still, under different names, the two schools admitted the same thing.

“The Jesuit Molina undertook to substitute for these two systems a new theory, which from his name has been termed ^{and of} *Molinism*.
Molina.

“According to this theologian, man, in the state of regenerate nature, is in the same condition, so far as free will is concerned, as that in which he was before the fall. He has an equal power to decide for himself between the grace which excites him to good, and the concupiscence which stirs him up to evil. If he gives his adhesion to grace, this grace becomes *efficacious* ; while, if he listens to concupiscence, it is simply *sufficient*. It is plain that, while using the word *efficacious*, Molina absolutely rejected the grace so called by the Thomists and Augustinians, and in reality only admitted that which, in the language of the two schools, was *sufficient* or *excitant*. The doctrine of efficacious grace, in the sense of S. Thomas and S. Augustine, had always been that of the Roman Church ; and the Popes, whatever concessions they made to the Jesuits, never abandoned that traditional doctrine.”

16. Both the Molinists and the Augustinians were heard by their agents : the most famous among the latter were the Abbé de la Laune, Gorin Saint Amour,

and the Abbé Bourzeis. After thirty-six congregations, the consultors divided, nine for the condemnation, four for the acquittal, of the propositions. Of the minority, Luke Wadding, the historian of the Franciscan Order, is the most remarkable; both on account of his learning, and because his natural tendency must have been in favour of the Jesuits, on account of the alliance between this order and his own. All had been done by the deputies that zeal, talent, and learning could effect. S. Vincent de Paul, who distinguished himself from the beginning by the most persevering opposition to Jansenism, was in constant communication with the Molinist commissioners, the Doctors Hallier, Joisel, and Lagault, of the Sorbonne; he had used his immense influence in stirring up the bishops of France to the struggle, and he now exulted in its conclusion. For on the 31st of May, 1653, appeared the famous dogmatic constitution of Innocent X., *Cum occasione*, in which the Five Propositions were condemned as temerarious, impious, blasphemous, and heretical,—each in its own modification of language. This constitution came on the Jansenists like a thunder-clap; and for a moment the party was completely confounded. Amable de Bourzeis, their own deputy, ceased to defend them; the great and pious Cardinal Thomasius, then a young ecclesiastic, who had maintained that the Five Propositions were tolerable, now gave in his retractation, and a few of lesser note followed his example. The constitution was at once accepted by twenty-eight bishops, hastily convened for that purpose, and presided over by Mazarin,—not, however, without some opposition. A peremptory mandate from the King (then in his sixteenth year) settled the matter. The Sorbonne acquiesced a fortnight later, and the Bull was quietly

received, where opposition was chiefly expected, in Brabant.

17. Antoine Arnauld and his friends, together with the greater part of the Dutch ecclesiastics, then under the Archbishop of Philippi and Utrecht, Jaques de la Torre, received the Bull with submission. The Pope had declared that he left the doctrine of S. Augustine inviolate; they might therefore declare it also. The dogma of efficacious grace was undoubtedly a main feature of the system of that Doctor, and must therefore be still held; and it was the duty of all defenders of grace to be definite on this point, because it was easy to foresee the abuse which the Molinists would make of the *Cum occasione*. To this effect were the *mandements* of several bishops, especially those of Orleans, Comminges, and Beauvais, of Henri Arnauld (brother of the Doctor), Bishop of Angers, and the Archbishop of Sens. The adversaries failed not to accuse them of gross duplicity. "You defended," said they, "the Five Propositions before they were condemned; after their condemnation you are willing to anathematize them;—before the 31st of May, 1653, you defended them because they were of Jansenius; since that time you attack them because they are not of Jansenius." But surely the answer to this is sufficiently easy. "We defended the propositions," the party replied, "because we considered them capable of a good sense; we condemn them when taken in a bad sense: we did not deny that, considered in the former light, they expressed, to a certain degree, the doctrine of Jansenius; considered in the latter, we deny that, either words or sentiments, they are his."

how received by Port-Royal.

18. The controversy, however, now raged on the question whether the Five Propositions were, or were not, to be found in the *Augustinus*. Even Cornet,

their first delater, had not formally asserted that they came from Jansenius ; nor had the Papal See pronounced any further decision on the subject than the expression in a brief to the Bishop of Tulle, “ the five controverted propositions which appeared to be taken out of the book of Cornelius Jansenius.”

At a somewhat later period it was that Louis XIV. desired the Count de Grammont to read the book, and to tell him whether they really existed there. One may easily imagine the style in which the unfortunate nobleman performed the enjoined task. “ I have read the book, if it please your Majesty,” said he, after some weeks had elapsed. “ And the propositions ?”—“ I have not been so fortunate as to find them, but they may be there, for all that, incognito.” The French bishops assembled at Paris, to the number of thirty-nine, for the purpose of discussing this question. A committee of eight was appointed to investigate the matter. Ten sessions were employed in comparing the book itself with the propositions ; and it was at length voted that the Constitution had condemned them as being of Jansenius, and in the sense of Jansenius ; and that the Pope should be informed of this resolution. The result of such a communication was a brief, addressed by Innocent X. to the general assembly of the clergy of France, in which he declared that he condemned the propositions as being of Jansenius, and in the sense of Jansenius.

The propositions condemned by Rome as of Jansenius, and in the sense of Jansenius.

Here the See of Rome evidently committed a fatal error. The Universal Church, even assembled in an Œcumenical Council, though infallible on matters of doctrine, may err, and has erred, on matters of fact. The seventh Council is a remarkable example. Here the great cause of Christian Art was victoriously asserted ; although the proofs on which the decree of

the Synod was based have been shewn by a more enlightened criticism to be for the most part erroneous. That S. Athanasius said this, or S. Basil said that, the Council might assert, and might assert mistakenly; but the doctrine delivered on that mistaken assertion nevertheless was infallible. If, then, the Church itself could be deceived in a question of fact, how much more, said the Jansenists, the Pope!

This it was endeavoured to meet by a distinction between a fact and a *dogmatic fact*; a distinction embraced by the assembly of the French clergy in 1656. A fact is one which has no connection whatever with doctrine; a dogmatic fact one which is in some way or other connected with some question of dogma. The difficulty naturally occurs, what question of fact is ever likely to come before the Church which is not so connected.

19. But we must return to Arnauld. In the November of 1655 he was charged with having, in his second Letter to a Duke and Peer, maintained doctrine condemned by the Holy See. The points were reduced to two: the one, that the Five Propositions were not to be found in the *Augustinus*, and had never really been held by anyone; the other, this sentence:—"The grace without which we can do nothing, was wanting to a righteous man in the person of S. Peter, on an occasion in which it is impossible to say that he did not sin." Never did the Jesuits make greater efforts than to procure a censure on both these propositions. They procured all the influence of the court, but even with that found themselves unable to carry the day. They next attempted, and with better success, to enlist the Dominicans on their side. The Dominicans, sworn disciples of S. Thomas to a man, and therefore vigorous defenders of *efficacious* grace,

Arnauld's
Letter to a
Duke and
Peer.

It is censured by the Sorbonne.

used, as we have seen, the term *sufficient* grace, which term was also employed, though in a different sense, by the Molinists. But on the strength of this phrase an accommodation was brought to pass between the two schools; and the censure of the first proposition was, after countless intrigues, carried by 130 to 71. But among the majority were forty monks, most of whom, according to the ancient constitutions of the Sorbonne, had no right to vote; as well as seven bishops, who were known to be the creatures of the court: there were also eight or nine doctors, called the Indifferents, who, had they been compelled to vote on either side, would have joined the party of Arnauld. Fifteen days were allowed that theologian to sign his own censure; and on the expiration of that term he was deprived of his doctor's bonnet. In the course of two years, more than sixty doctors of the Sorbonne were ejected from that body for refusing to set their names to that which they considered an act of the grossest injustice.

The Provincials of Blaise Pascal.

20. It was while the fate of Arnauld yet hung undecided, that Paris was one morning electrified by the appearance of the first of the Provincial Letters. Blaise Pascal was at this time in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and intimately connected, not only with Arnauld, but with Nicole, Lemaistre, Le Maistre de Sacy, and the rest of the recluses at Port-Royal-des-Champs. The exquisite raillery which in that first letter he employs against the *proximate power* and the *sufficient grace* of the Dominicans must be here quoted:

"I went," says he, "straight to the Jacobins," (the Dominicans were so called from their house in the street of S. Jacques,) "where I found, at the door, one of my friends, a great Jansenist (for I have friends in all parties), who was looking for some other father than him for whom I was en-

quiring. But I prevailed on him by force of entreaty to accompany me, and I asked for one of the New Thomists. He was delighted to see me. 'Why, my father,' said I, 'it is not enough that all men have a proximate power, by which, however, in reality, they never do anything; they must also have sufficient grace, with which they do just as little. Is not that the opinion of your school?'—'Yes,' said the good father, 'and I have said as much this morning in the Sorbonne. I spoke all my half-hour; and had it not been for the glass, I would soon have changed the unlucky proverb which has got about in Paris.'—'And what do you mean by your half-hour and your glass?' answered I: 'do they cut down your lucubrations to a certain limit?'—'Yes,' said he, 'they have done so now for some days.' "

(This was one of the regulations introduced to hasten on the censure, the procrastination of which might have been equivalent to its rejection.)

" 'And are you obliged to speak for half an hour?'—'No, one may speak for as short a time as one pleases.'—'But not for as long as one pleases?' said I. 'Oh, the excellent rule for ignoramuses! Oh, the capital pretext for those who have nothing worth saying! But now, my father, this grace given to all men, is it *sufficient*?'—'Yes,' said he.—'And yet it has no effect without *efficacious* grace?'—'That is true,' said he.—'And all men have the *sufficient*,' continued I, 'and have not the *efficacious*?'—'True,' said he.—'That is to say, all have enough grace, and all have not enough; that is to say, it is sufficient in name, and insufficient in fact. In good truth, my father, this doctrine is very subtle. Have you forgotten, in quitting the world, what the word *sufficient* signifies there? That it includes everything which is necessary to render action possible? To make use of a comparison which you may well understand, suppose that they only gave you two ounces of bread and a glass of water every day for your dinner, would you be pleased with your Prior if he were to tell you that it was *sufficient* for your support,—meaning thereby, that *with* something else, which he did not intend to give you, you would have all that

Sufficient
grace,
which is
insufficient.

was necessary for your nourishment? How, then, can you allow yourselves to say that all men have sufficient grace to act, since you confess that there is another grace absolutely necessary to render action possible, and which all men have not? Is it that the matter is of trifling importance, and that you leave men to believe as they please, that *efficacious* grace is necessary or is not necessary? Is it an indifferent thing to say that by *means* of sufficient grace one can really act?'—'How?' said the good man; 'indifferent! It is a heresy; it is a formal heresy. The necessity of efficacious grace to act is of the faith; it is heresy to deny it.'—'Well, then,' said I, 'whereabouts are we, and which side am I to take? If I deny sufficient grace, I am a Jansenist; if I admit it in the sense of the Jesuits, meaning thereby that efficacious grace is not necessary, I am, you say, a heretic; and if I admit it in your sense, so as to assert that efficacious grace is nevertheless necessary, I offend against common sense, and I am a fool, say the Jesuits. What am I to do, then, in this inevitable necessity of being either a fool, or a heretic, or a Jansenist?'

21. It is probable that Pascal's first intention was only to defend his friends and himself from the machinations of their enemies. But the astonishing success of the Provincials drew him on to a general attack on the Jesuits. He was the first to arouse public attention and to excite public horror, by dragging out from the enormous and countless volumes of the casuists the depths of iniquity which they recognised and allowed. In the words of the historian of the Jesuits, "they endeavoured to bring about some kind of agreement between infinite perfection and the vices of humanity; they popularised religion in combining its practices with the sentiments of the world." Hence the morality, or rather the immorality, of such authors as Lessius, Escobar, Diana, Busenbaum, and, above all, Bauny; of the last of whom it was so truly and so very profanely said, *Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*.

Corrupted
morals of
the Jesuits.

It is because the corrupted morals of the Jesuits lie at the root of the great struggle between that society and the Church of Utrecht, that I may be excused for quoting one or two passages more from the Provincials, in order that the obligation due to the great men who laboured and suffered in opposing the new casuistry may be the better appreciated. Let us take that which lies at the root of all religion, the Love of God :—

“I see plainly,” says the Jesuit father to the writer, “that you wish to know what is the doctrine of our fathers with respect to the love of God. It is the last point of their morals, and the most important of all. Listen to Escobar, who relates the different opinions of our ancestors on this matter in his Practice of the Love of God according to our Society, Tr. i. Ex. 2, No. 21; and again, Tr. v. Ex. 4, No. 8, on this question:—‘When is a man obliged to feel actual love for God? Suarez says that it is enough if we love Him before the article of death, without determining any precise time. Vasquez, that it is sufficient if we even love Him *in* the article of death. Others, at baptism. Others, when we are bound to feel contrition. Others, on holidays. But our father Castro Palao combats all these opinions, and with reason. Hurtado de Mendoza asserts that we are obliged to love God once every year, and are treated very favourably to be let off with that. But our Father Coninck thinks that the obligation binds us every three or four years. Henriquez, every five years; and Filiutius says that, speaking rigorously, we are not obliged to love God once every five years. And when are we then? He leaves it to the judgment of those that are wiser. But,’ continues he, ‘our Father Anthony Sirmond, who writes excellently on this subject, in his admirable book the ‘Defence of Virtue,’ when, as he says to the reader, he speaks plain French in France, thus discourses, in sec. i. p. 12:—‘S. Thomas says that we are obliged to love God as soon as we have the use of reason; that is a little early. Scotus, every Sunday;—how did he know that? Others, when we are grievously tempted;—yes, in case there

is no other way of avoiding the temptation. Sotos, when we receive any mercy from God;—it is a good way of thanking Him. Others, at death;—that is, somewhat late. Nor do I think that it is necessary at each reception of any sacrament: attrition with confession (if one has the opportunity) is sufficient. Suarez says that we are bound to love God at some time: but at what time? He makes you the judge, and knows nothing of the matter. Now what this doctor does not know, I cannot tell who does know.’ And so he concludes that, rigorously speaking, one is only bound to observe the other commandments without any love for God, and without giving our heart to Him, provided we do not hate Him.’ ‘So that,’ he says, ‘(see the goodness of God,) we are not so much commanded to love Him as to abstain from hating Him.’ It is thus that our fathers have discharged men from the painful obligation of actually loving God. And this doctrine is so advantageous, that our Fathers Annat, *Pintero*, Lemoine, and even Sirmond, have defended it vigorously when it has been attacked. You have only to see their replies in the moral theology, and that of *Pintero* will enable you to judge of the value of this dispensation by the price which he says that it cost, namely, the Blood of CHRIST JESUS. This is the crown of the whole doctrine. You see, then, that this dispensation from the vexatious duty of love to God is the privilege of the Evangelical above the Judaic law.”

The fury which these immortal letters excited in the universities is scarcely to be described. The writer was beyond their reach, but their vengeance might be wreaked on Port-Royal.

22. It was resolved to destroy the stronghold of Augustinian theology which had been implanted in it by S. Cyran, when confessor of the parent house in Paris, and now flourished in the country Convent, whither, in 1648, a portion of the sisters, under the conduct of the Mère Angélique, sister of Arnauld, had retired. The recluses then retired to a place

called *Les Granges*, in the immediate neighbourhood, where they pursued their holy life of prayer and study. I shall not dwell on the violences which were exercised against the defenceless sisters: it is enough to observe that an order in council was obtained for the removal of every postulant from the convent. But these proceedings were unexpectedly stopped. One evening in March, 1656, Paris was startled by the announcement that a miracle, as astonishing as indisputable, had been wrought in Port-Royal. The subject, Mademoiselle Marguerite Perrier, a child of ten years old, the niece of Blaise Pascal, whose earlier Provincial Letters were then in every one's hands and mouth: the disease, an inveterate ulcer in the left eye; the means of cure, a thorn from our Lord's crown. The effect was absolutely electric. The Molinists were thunderstruck. Cardinal Mazarin caused the miracle to be officially published. Public opinion, already owning the force of Pascal's letters, veered rapidly round. We, at a distance, and viewing the subject without prejudice, may form a calmer judgment: much may be said for and against the reality of this miracle; but the positive evidence seems to preponderate slightly. The facts of the disease and of the sudden cure are not denied. But it is urged, 1. That the very opportune time in which the miracle was wrought is in itself suspicious. To which it is replied, What other period, *à priori*, so likely for a supernatural interference? And by the same rule, the invention of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, and the cure of the blind man, must be set down to a pious fraud on the part of S. Ambrose. The second objection is more formidable,—That Flavie Passart, to whose sole charge the young lady had been entrusted, afterwards became a setter-up of false miracles. She, it is said,

Miracle of
Marguerite
Perrier.

might have caused the disease, and might have cured it by natural means. At the time, however, no traces of collusion were discovered ; and it may not be improbable that the fact of having seen one true miracle suggested to the unfortunate nun the possibility of counterfeiting them. Mademoiselle Perrier herself, who lived for nearly eighty years afterwards, was always convinced of the reality of the miracle.

23. Alexander VII., the same Cardinal Chigi who had been so instrumental in procuring the Constitution of Innocent X., now filled the Roman chair. He renewed, by a brief of Oct. 16, 1656, the condemnation of the Five Propositions, and the explanation that they were condemned as being of Jansenius, and in the sense of Jansenius. The Church of France at once received the brief.

The For-
mulary.

This brief gave rise to the celebrated Formulary. In the general assembly of the French clergy of 1657, it was determined that the following formula should be signed by all candidates for ecclesiastical preferments :—

“ I submit sincerely to the Constitution of Pope Innocent X. of the 31st of May, 1653, according to its true sense, which has been determined by the Constitution of our venerable father Alexander VII., of the 16th of October, 1656. I acknowledge that I am obliged in conscience to obey these Constitutions ; and I condemn with my heart and mouth the doctrine of the Five Propositions of Cornelius Jansenius, contained in his book entitled *Augustinus*, which these two Popes and the Bishops have condemned ; which doctrine is not that of S. Augustine, whom Jansenius has explained ill, against the sense of this holy doctor.”

The miracle, however, and the Provincial Letters, caused the definite promulgation of this formula to be deferred till 1661. But matters were carried on with a high hand ; and on the night of the 10th of Decem-

ber, 1656, the monument of Jansenius, in the Cathedral of Ypres, was broken down by the Bishop, in defiance of the remonstrances of the Chapter, and the opposition of the citizens.

24. And here it is that the teaching of Gerson, of the Council of Basle, of De Dominis, takes a definite connexion with that of Arnauld and Nicole. The two were conjoined by the Abbé de S. Cyran,—were to be held more definitely by the great doctor, Ellies Dupin, and, to a certain extent, by Tillemont. And the natural explanation of such a connexion is this:—Here was the Pope asserting for himself not only that doctrinal infallibility which the Church does claim, but that historical infallibility which she does not claim. Here were articles of faith laid down, without reference to a Council, and articles of fact which no Council would have dared to promulgate. The natural question arose, as we have seen,—What right has the Pope to claim infallibility on a point of fact? And then came another question close behind,—What right has the Pope to claim infallibility, without appeal, on a point of doctrine?

Connection
of Gallican
with Au-
gustinian
teaching.

Arnauld came forward with his case, proposed by a doctor, with respect to the Formulary. In it he considers these three questions:—A theologian, persuaded that the Five Propositions are not in the *Augustinus*, is called on to sign the Formulary. 1. Is he bound to change his previous belief?—The answer is in the negative. 2. May he sign the document, though he retains that belief?—This question also is answered in the negative. 3. Is he obliged to *speak out*, under actual circumstances, or may he content himself with a respectful silence?—Arnauld considers him obliged to speak out. He addressed this work to one of the holiest French prelates of the day, Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth,

a disciple of S. Vincent de Paul, and by him persuaded, or rather compelled, to undertake the pastoral superintendence of his wild and mountainous diocese. At that time, Pavillon entertained opposite sentiments to those of Arnauld, and affirmed that the doctor in question was bound, on papal authority, to believe, and thus to sign, the Formulary.

Struggle
against the
reception
of the For-
mulary in
France.

24. In 1661, the Jesuits prevailed on the King to press the signature under all the tyrannical powers that the Grand Monarque knew so well how to wield. The Bastille was crowded with Jansenists; seventy-five nuns and postulants were carried, almost by force, from Port-Royal. The Mère Angélique, after years of trial, breathed her last on the 6th of August, 1661, and her sister, the Mère Agnes, had to bear the brunt of the storm. Flavie Passart, the perfidious guardian of Mademoiselle Perrier, proposed that the House of Port-Royal de Paris should be taken from its possessors; and the governors, who, yielding to the persuasions and threats of Perefex, Archbishop of Paris, signed the Formulary, were accordingly put in possession of it. Mère Agnes, with the rest, was confined to Port-Royal-des-Champs.

Alexander VII., in the February of 1665, published another Bull for the acceptation of the Formulary, making no distinction between fact and right, and demanding for this decision, as for the former, the same kind of faith that the Church requires for the doctrine of Revelation. The King hastened to register this Bull in Parliament, and to render the acceptance obligatory. This at length revived the spirit of the French Episcopate. Four prelates, bearing all of them the highest character for sanctity of life and for learning, distinguished in their *mandements* the questions of fact and right, and for the Pope's declaration as to

services demanded only a respectful silence. These were, Nicolas Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth ; Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers ; François Etienne de Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers ; and Nicolas de Buzenval, Bishop of Beauvais. The royal indignation burst forth ; Louis XIV. demanded from the Pope two briefs : the one, commanding the recusant bishops to sign the Formula purely and simply ; the other, appointing a tribunal of twelve bishops to judge them without appeal. The Pontiff made some difficulties about the latter proposition, but finally carried nine, the Archbishop of Bourges being President. Two refused to act ; and the President was more desirous of accommodating than of judging the difference.

The 22nd of May, 1667, saw Alexander VII. on his death-bed. After having received extreme unction, he signed with a trembling hand the brief which condemned the four protesting bishops. His successor was Cardinal Rospigliosi, who took the name of Clement IX. It was understood that he was no friend to Molinist views ; and the Duchess of Longueville, the cousin of Louis XIV., a warm protector of the Jansenists, interested that monarch in their sufferings, and by his means brought about the celebrated Pacification of Clement IX.

Pacifica-
tion of Cle-
ment IX.

25. Nineteen prelates now came forward in defence of their brethren : they were headed nominally by the Archbishop of Sens ; but their real leader was Felix Vialart, Bishop of Chalons, one of the holiest and ablest prelates of his age. They addressed a most respectful and cordial letter to Clement IX., felicitating him on his accession, and representing how gloriously he would distinguish that event by giving peace to the Church. The four bishops, they said, had most willingly condemned the Five Propositions, whether

found in the writings of Jansenius or elsewhere : the only charge against them was, that they denied the infallibility of the Pope, as they would that of the Church itself on questions of fact,—an infallibility which could only belong to God ALONE. Their letter was well received, and in a very short time twenty more bishops gave in their adherence to it. The indignation, on the contrary, of Louis XIV. was excessive. He used such menaces to the four (as he termed them) refractory prelates, that the Bishop of Pamiers was disposed to yield ; and it was as much as could be done by the more energetic Pavillon, and by Vialart, who joined his brethren heart and soul, to keep him steady. After a variety of negotiations, it was resolved that the four bishops should address a letter to the Pope, in which they should distinctly condemn the Five Propositions, while saving their own distinction between fact and right ; and that the accommodation should embrace, not only themselves, but all who had been troubled on the same subject, and especially Arnauld, and the writers of Port-Royal. By a brief of January the 19th, 1669, Clement IX. accepted their letter, and by tacitly allowing the distinction between fact and right, restored peace to the Church of France. The medal struck on this occasion has always been the subject of annoyance to the Jesuits, who have rendered it very scarce, and the Concordat is known as the Pacification of Clement IX.

Works of
the Port-
Royalists.

26. The recluses of Port-Royal had now liberty to return to their favourite retreat ; and there they occupied themselves with those works which have rendered their names immortal. Nicole and Arnauld laboured at their “ Perpetuity of the Faith of the Church concerning the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist ;” in which the ablest of the Calvinist authors, Claude,

Aubertin, and Blondel, were so thoroughly crushed and overwhelmed, that they never ventured to make head on that subject again. Arnauld was also employed in his "Practical Morals of the Jesuits," and Nicole in his Latin translation of the "Provincials," his Essays on Morality, and his Reflections on the Epistles and Gospels of the Church's Year. There, too, Tillemont composed his Ecclesiastical History, the wonderful fulness and accuracy of which has wrung so striking a testimony from Gibbon ; Lemaistre de Sacy, in his translation of, and commentaries on, the Bible ; Arnauld d'Andilly, in his translations of the Confessions of S. Augustine, and of Josephus ; and Hamon, the pious physician of the Convent, in his explanation of the Canticles, his Practice of Continual Prayer, and his Soliloquies. There, also, the Mère Angelique composed her "Conferences ;" her "Reflections," written with the view of preparing her sisters for persecution ; and her "Spiritual Letters." It was during the Peace of Clement IX. that Pasquier Quesnel published the first edition of his "Moral Reflections on the New Testament," that book which eventually gave rise to so horrible a turmoil in the whole Western Church, and to all the troubles of the *Unigenitus*. Henceforth the *Augustinus* became a tedious subject ; it was replaced, as a butt for the Jesuits, by the "Moral Reflections ;" and the very name of Jansenism nearly gave way to that of Quesnelism.

The condemnation of sixty-five Jesuit propositions by Innocent XI., successor to Clement IX., was the last triumph, and the precursor of the downfall, of the first series of French Jansenists. Arnauld and the school of Port-Royal sided with the See of Rome in the disputes between the Pontiff and Louis XIV.,

which led to the celebrated assembly of 1682, and the Gallican Articles. Before the Synod took place, Arnauld had retired into Holland, whence he kept up a large correspondence in France, and continued in high favour with the Court of Rome.

Pasquier
Quesnel.

27. It is now time to return to Quesnel. Born at Paris in 1634, he was educated in the Congregation of the Oratory, and there imbibed the Augustinian sentiments for which it was celebrated. Named, at the age of 28, director of its school in Paris, he composed for the use of the youth under his charge, his *Pensées Chrétiennes sur les quatre Evangelistes*. This was adopted by Felix Vialart as a text-book for his diocese; and Quesnel employed himself in elaborating what he had already written, and in extending his labours to the rest of the New Testament. Before long, however, he was desired by De Harlay, then Archbishop, to leave Paris; and he took up his residence at Orleans. Here, in 1684, his signature was demanded to a formulary which the General Assembly of the Oratory imposed on all its members. The philosophical part of this document contained some principles of Cartesianism. Quesnel refused its signature, joined Arnauld at Brussels, continued with him till his death, and was then regarded as the chief of the party.

The Ré-
flexions
Morales,

28. His *Réflexions Morales* appeared in 1694, and now embraced the whole of the New Testament. De Noailles, then Bishop of Châlons, finding that the former edition of the work was popular in his diocese, approved this also; and was shortly afterwards transferred to the Archbishopric of Paris. Here he condemned, in the course of the next year, a treatise of Barcos, the nephew of S. Cyran, which had for its title, *Exposition de la Foi de l'Eglise, touchant la Grâce*

et la Prédestination, as containing doctrine “false, temerarious, scandalous, impious, blasphemous, injurious to God, worthy of anathema, and heretical; also as renewing the doctrine of the Five Propositions of Janse-
 nius, with a temerity the more intolerable, that the author dares to set forth as being of the Faith that which is not only not so, but which the Faith abhors, and which is detested by all the Church.” The Cardinal, however, had better have left this performance alone. and the Ecclesiastical Problem.
 In a few weeks appeared the famous “Ecclesiastical Problem: whether one ought to believe M. Louis Antoine Noailles, Bishop of Châlons in 1695, or M. Louis Antoine Noailles, Archbishop of Paris in 1696.” A parallel is drawn between the *Réflexions* which the Bishop approved, and the *Exposition* which the Archbishop condemned; and the absolute identity of their doctrine is set forth. The author was Thierry de Viaixnes, of whom we shall hear more hereafter; and the satire was as cutting as that of the “Provincials.” Poor de Noailles obtained an *Arrêt* from the Parliament of Paris, which condemned the “Problem” to the fire. This was easy enough; but the Cardinal’s character, both as an honest man and a theologian, was seriously damaged. A new edition of the *Réflexions* appeared in 1699, but without the approbation of the Archbishop.

29. In 1700, the celebrated “Case of Conscience” re-
 opened the whole controversy. A priest having refused to absolve a penitent who condemned the Five Propositions, but declared that a “*respectful silence*” was a sufficient acquiescence in the pontifical authority as to facts, forty Doctors of the Sorbonne affirmed its sufficiency, grounding themselves on the Pacification of Clement IX., and other papal documents. Forth came the *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* of The “Case of Conscience.”
The *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*.

Clement XI., (July 15th, 1703,) the passive instrument of the Molinists, who now filled the chair of S. Peter, condemning the decision of the Sorbonne in the strongest terms, renewing all the doctrines of the Formulaire, and making no account whatever of the Pacification of Clement IX. The general assembly of the French clergy received this Bull, and hence a new series of troubles. Encouraged by the submission of the clergy, Clement XI. condemned, on the 13th of July, 1708, the *Réflexions Morales*, as infected with the Jansenian heresy. At the same time the destruction of Port Royal was carried into execution. A Bull having been obtained for that purpose, Cardinal de Noailles was compelled to issue his instructions for the suppression of the convent. It was in vain that the sisters used every means in their power to avert the stroke. They signed the *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, with the reservation, however, of the privileges conferred on them by the Peace of Clement IX. ; and when that was in vain, they appealed from the Archbishop of Paris to his Primate, the Archbishop of Lyons, but fruitlessly.

Destruction of Port
Royal des
Champs.

30. On the 29th of October, at half-past seven in the morning, D'Argenson, a lieutenant of the police, entered the village with three hundred men, drew them up outside the convent, and set a guard at every entrance to it. The sisterhood were just coming out from mass. D'Argenson summoned them before him, counted them, to see that none were absent, and then read a part of his commission, requiring the instant surrender of all papers and documents into his hands. While these proceedings were going on the bell rang for tierce. The sisters went into choir, not knowing that it was to be for the last time. The lieutenant, when they came out, assembled them

again, and read them the remainder of his commission, by which it was ordered that the community was instantly to be broken up, and its members to be dispersed in different convents, and out of the diocese of Paris. The Prioress, (for the election of an abbess had been forbidden by the king,) Louise Du Mesnill de Courtiaux, enquired how long a time for preparation could be given them. "Ten minutes," replied D'Argenson. The sisters having received the blessing of the Prioress for the last time, returned into the choir, knelt before the Blessed Sacrament, and so went out to make their preparations. In the meantime the peasants of the neighbouring villages came thronging round the convent, with exclamations that they should be left to perish of hunger: and it was as much as the soldiers could do to prevent them from breaking into open violence. The lieutenant himself, a man of iron nerves, declared afterwards that he could hardly fulfil his commission, when he saw the sisters passing out of the great gate of the convent without one tear; and the Prioress, coming last of all, surrendered to him the keys, and recommended to his care the servants and the sick who had been supported by the sisterhood.

The treacherous Flavie Passant obtained for Port Royal in Paris everything which was worth removing from the deserted monastery; and then, on Jan. 22nd, in the following year, commenced the demolition of the whole edifice. Yet even this did not satisfy the revenge of the Jesuits. In 1711 the bodies in the burial-ground were disinterred, with the grossest circumstances of brutality and indecency; and two years after the church itself was destroyed. It was remarked—as it has so often been remarked in cases of sacrilege—that none of the principal actors

Desecration of the Cemetery.

in this tragedy ever prospered afterwards, and that almost all of them were in the course of a very few months summoned to render in their account to God.

The disinterment of the bodies in the burial-ground of Port Royal, the cemetery of the nuns for five hundred years, is undoubtedly the most disgraceful act which the Molinists ever perpetrated. Nor, when we read of the horrible outrages perpetrated on the corpses of women, must we forget that they were carried on by command of a woman—one, too, professing piety—Madame de Maintenon. The penitence of De Noailles, his bitter self-reproach, his vacillation to the end of his life, and final Molinism—these things are a wonderful lesson to those who love the praise of men more than the praise of God.

Thus fell Port Royal; but the spirit of Port Royal lived on, and lives still.

31. But to return. In February, 1712, Clement XI. appointed a congregation of five cardinals and eleven theologians to consider the *Réflexions Morales*. After the deliberations of a year and a half—the assemblies having been for the latter part of the time held twice a-week, and the Pope generally being present—the work was ended. On September 8, 1713, appeared the famous Constitution *Unigenitus*, in which one hundred and one propositions, extracted from the writings of Quesnel, were condemned, not separately, (as is usually the case,) but in the lump.

The *Unigenitus*.

This dogmatic Constitution, the occasion of such innumerable troubles, so long openly rejected by so large a portion of the Roman Church, even now secretly abhorred by vast numbers who have not the courage openly to protest against it,—and some future day to be withdrawn, as other less important Bulls have been withdrawn,—may be considered the work

of three persons—Louis XIV., Madame de Maintenon, and Le Tellier, the king's confessor. It is said that one hundred and one propositions were condemned, because Le Tellier had pledged himself that the "Moral Reflections" contained *more than* a hundred heretical propositions^a. Though, as I have mentioned, the extracts were condemned *in globo*, each was separately characterised by the censors: and the Abbé Guettée has done singular service to ecclesiastical history by publishing for the first time, from papers preserved in Rome, the separate qualifications of each. Thus we find that twelve only were condemned as heretical; that the rest were either "erroneous," "suspected of heresy," "approaching heresy," "as it stands, to be suspected of heresy," or, "offensive to pious ears." It is further to be remembered that, in the judgment of Clement XI., twelve of the propositions were not worthy of censure; yet these twelve go to make up the one hundred and one condemned by the actual *Unigenitus*.

32. As, in point of fact, it is this Constitution beyond everything else against which the Church of Utrecht has for a century and a half struggled, and is still struggling, it will be necessary to enter a little more minutely into its details. And that the account may be as fair as possible, I will first give the abstract of it published by a most zealous Ultramontane, the Abbé Rohrbacher, in the work which he calls a "History of the Catholic Church:"—

^a Saint Simon gives the words of the Pope thus:—"Eh! Monsieur Amelot, Monsieur Amelot, que voulez-vous que je fisse? je me suis battu à la perche pour en retranches; mais le P. Tellier avait dit au roi qu'il y avait dans ce livre plus de cent propositions censurables; il

n'a pas voulu passer pour menteur, et on m'a tenu le pied sur la gorge pour en mettre plus de cent, pour montrer qu'il avait dit vrai, et je n'en ai mis qu'une de plus. Voyez, voyez, Monsieur Amelot, comment j'aurais pu faire autrement."

Abstract
by Rohrbacher.

"1. It teaches that no commandment of God is impossible, and it condemns those who maintain that the commandments of God are impossible, when not obeyed. This is the sense of the first five propositions of Quesnel.

"2. It teaches that we may resist grace, and condemns those who maintain that we can never resist it.—(Props. 6—39.) It teaches, according to the words of Jesus Christ, that He came to seek and to save that which is lost, and condemns those who restrain the benefit of redemption to the elect alone.—(Props. 30—33.) It defines that grace is necessary and gratuitous, and condemns those who, in attacking this doctrine, renew the Pelagian heresy as regards unfallen nature, in Props. 34—37. It teaches that free will exists in fallen nature, and condemns those that deny it.—(Props. 38—43.)

"3. It teaches that there are good actions which do not spring from a motive of love, and condemns those who maintain the contrary; because all that God commands is good, but He commands other acts besides love. These acts, then, are good. On this principle, it condemns the Propositions 44—67, which suppose that God can command acts which are not good, but evil; which is to agree with hell in its most horrible blasphemies.

"4. It teaches, after Jesus Christ, that if we would enter into life, we must keep the commandments; that thus there are other means of salvation than faith and prayer; and it condemns those who reduce all means of safety to these two, as Prop. 68 does, which thus provokes fanaticism and illusion.

"5. It teaches that first grace is gratuitous; that, if we merited it, it would not be grace; that glory is, nevertheless, a *crown of righteousness* as due to merits, and condemns the error which teaches that first grace and glory are equally gratuitous, as Prop. 69, which supposes that man, not being free, merits no more than an automaton.

"6. It teaches, after the Scriptures and tradition, that God sometimes afflicts us to prove us, and condemns the error which teaches that God never afflicts except for the sake of punishing or purifying the sinner, (Prop. 70): whence it might impiously be concluded, that if the Blessed Virgin, the Patriarch Job, and so many martyrs, have suffered more

than others, it was because they were greater sinners than others.

“7. Following this saying of Jesus Christ, ‘If any man destroys one of the least of these commandments, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven,’ the Constitution teaches that man cannot dispense with the observation of the commandments of God, and rejects the error which asserts that every one, for his preservation, may dispense with their observation. This is the error of Prop. 71, which opens the door to all kind of relaxation, even to anarchy, and condemns implicitly the conduct of confessors and martyrs.

“8. It teaches, as Jesus Christ in several passages of the Gospel, that in the Church the good are mingled with the bad, and rejects the error which affirms that the Church consists of the good and righteous only. (Props. 72—78.) As inherent righteousness is an invisible thing, this is to make the Church in like manner invisible, and so to destroy all hierarchy, all subordination.

“9. As religion was established by oral teaching, and before the Scriptures were in being, the Constitution teaches that the reading of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue is not necessary to every one for salvation, and condemns the contrary error expressed in Propositions 79—86, which are so many outrages on the Church of God, as practising and teaching the opposite.

“10. It teaches that, in conformity with the practice of all the Church at all times, although it is proper to defer reconciliation or absolution of certain sinners, nevertheless there are others whom it is right to absolve at once, and before satisfaction. It teaches that all sinners, not excommunicated, ought to assist at the sacrifice of the Mass; and it proscribes the opposite error, contained in Props. 87—89, which blames the father of the family for receiving so promptly the prodigal son, and restoring to him his first robe; which blames Jesus Christ Himself, who said to the penitent thief, ‘To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.’

“11. It teaches that Jesus Christ, in giving to the apostles and to their successors the power to loose, gave them also the power to excommunicate; and that, as excommuni-

cation deprives of many benefits, it is always to be feared ; consequently it condemns the opposite error contained in Propositions 90—93, which, supposing each individual the judge whether the sentence which condemns him be just or not, weaken the authority of the Church and render it contemptible.

“ 12. It teaches that, since Jesus Christ has promised to be with His Church alway, even unto the end, her administration is always holy, as being directed by the Holy Ghost, and it condemns those who deny and outrage it, as Props. 94—101, which teach that the Church, become old and decrepit, is ignorant of, and can even persecute, the truth ; whence it may be impiously concluded that Christ, not having fulfilled His promise, is not only not God, but is not even a Man of His word ; and that God, if there be one, does not meddle with the affairs of the world, and that all goes by chance.”

Extracts
from the
dilated
proposi-
tions.

33. We will now take some of the actual propositions, with the passages alleged by Quesnel and his supporters in their favour, and the qualification attached to them by the Bull :—

Proposition 1. “ What does there remain in a soul which has lost God and His grace, except sin and its consequences, a proud poverty, and idle indigence ; that is to say, a general impotence to work, to prayer, to everything that is good ?” *Texts.* ‘ Without Me ye can do nothing,’ (S. John xv. 5). ‘ Who then can be saved ?’ ‘ The things that are impossible with men, are possible with God,’ (S. Matt. xix. 26). ‘ Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God,’ (2 Cor. iii. 5). ‘ No man has in himself anything but falsehood and sin.’—*Council of Orange*, Can. 22. *Qualification* : heretical.

Proposition 2. “ The grace of JESUS CHRIST, the efficacious principle for every kind of good, is necessary for every good action. Without it not only we do nothing, but we can do nothing.” *Texts.* ‘ No man cometh unto Me, except the Father draw him, (S. John vi. 44). It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do,’ (Philipp. ii. 13). ‘ Without grace we can do nothing, achieve nothing, commence no-

thing.'—*S. August. ad Bonifac.*, ii. cap. 9. *Qualification*: as it stands, heretical; from the context, suspected of heresy and near akin to it.

Proposition 3. "In vain Thou commandest, O Lord, if Thou dost not give that which Thou commandest." *Texts*. 'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.' (Psalm cxxvii. 1). 'Every time that we do any good thing, it is God Who acts in us and with us, to the end we should do it.'—*Council of Orange*, Can. 9. *Qualification*: ill-sounding, and offensive to pious ears.

Proposition 12. "When God determines to save a soul, in every time, in every place, the indubitable effect follows the will of a God." *Text*. This proposition is literally translated from S. Prosper in his poem *Contra ingratos*. *Qualification*: suspected of heresy,—unless, indeed, these are the very words of S. Prosper.

Proposition 13. "When God determines to save a soul, and touches it with the hand of His grace, no human will resists Him." *Texts*. 'When God wills to save anyone, no will of man resists Him.'—*S. August. de Correct. et Gratiâ*, cap. xiv. 'No man is saved, save he whom God wills to be saved; it is therefore necessary to pray that He may will it, because, if He wills it, it must come to pass.'—*S. August. Enchiridion*, cap. cii. *Qualification*: His Holiness suspends his judgment.

Proposition 25. "God enlightens and heals the soul as well as the body by His will alone." He commands and is obeyed. *Texts*. 'As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will.' (S. John v. 21). 'Turn thou me, and I shall be turned, for Thou art the Lord my God: surely, after that I was turned, I repented.' (Jeremiah xxxi. 18). 'There are certain properties of the soul which perish through an evil will, and this so that they cannot be recovered by a good will, unless God does that which man cannot do;—God, who could restore to a man the eyes which he should wilfully have put out, or the limbs which he should wilfully have cut off.'—*S. August., Opus imperfect.* vi. 18. *Qualification*: suspected of heresy.

Proposition 28. "The first grace which God grants the

sinner is the pardon of his sins." *Texts*. 'The first grace which the sinner receives is that by which his sins are pardoned.'—*S. August. Tractat. iii. in S. Joan. sec. 8.* 'There are three degrees of the justification of a Christian; the first is the remission of sins by baptism.'—*S. Fulgentius, de Remissione Peccatorum, i. 5.* *Qualification*: suspected of heresy.

Proposition 31. "The will of JESUS has always its effect; He bestows His entire peace on the heart, when He desires it for that heart." *Texts*. 'Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast heard Me, and I know that Thou hearest Me *always*.' (*S. John ii. 41, 42*). 'It is impossible that, when the Almighty Son declares to His Almighty Father that He desired a certain thing, that thing should not come to pass.'—*S. August. Tract. iii. in S. Joan. i.* *Qualification*: ill-sounding, and akin to heresy.

Proposition 50. "It is in vain that we cry to God, *My Father*, if it is not the Spirit of love that cries." *Text*. 'We cry, but it is by the HOLY GHOST, that is to say, by the love which He sheds abroad in our hearts, without which, whosoever cries, cries in vain.'—*S. August. Serm. 71, in S. Matt.* *Qualification*: pernicious in practice, and offensive to pious ears.

Proposition 54. "It is love alone that speaks to God, it is love alone that God hears." *Texts*. 'Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels and have not love, I am become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,' (*1 Cor. xiii. 1*). 'It is the heart that God hears; men have ears only for the voice; the ears of God attend only to the voice of the heart.'—*S. August. on Psalm cxix.* *Qualification*: scandalous, temerarious, impious, and erroneous.

Proposition 71. "Man may dispense for his preservation with a law which God has made for his benefit." *Texts*. The Maccabees fought on the Sabbath-day. David ate the shewbread, and our Lord approved that action. The apostles gathered the ears of corn and ate them on the Sabbath-day. *Qualification*: scandalous and pernicious in practice.

Proposition 81. "The holy obscurity of the Word of God is no reason why the laity should be dispensed from reading it." *Text*. 'We may still derive benefit from Holy Scripture,

though we do not understand its hidden meaning; besides, it is impossible that all can be unintelligible, for the HOLY GHOST, Who inspired it, took care that it was written in such a manner as that publicans and sinners, artizans, shepherds, and other illiterate persons, might be saved by these books.'—*S. Chrysos., Serm. iii. on Lazarus. Qualification*: His Holiness passes over this proposition as dubious.

Proposition 82. "Sunday ought to be hallowed by the reading of good books, and above all things, of Holy Scripture." *Text*. 'We assemble together to read Holy Scripture; and by its sacred words we nourish our faith, we confirm our hope, and we increase the knowledge which we have of the commandments of God.'—*Tertullian, Apolog.* 'Ignorance of Holy Scripture is the source of all evil.'—*S. Chrysos., 9th Homily on the Galatians. Qualification*: either to be passed over, or at the utmost to be censured as suspected of error, contained more clearly in preceding propositions, and dangerous in practice.

34. It was the Bull, then, of which the above propositions represent the fair average of doctrine, which now came before the clergy of France. Louis XIV. assembled a certain number of bishops of his own choice, appointed Cardinal de Noailles president by his own authority, and gave them to understand that his royal pleasure was the acceptation of the Bull. Any opposition by Quesnelists was denounced as opposition to the royal will. Before the final acceptation, Cardinal de Rohan, Archbishop of Strasbourg, gave a banquet to the assembled prelates, which surpassed in its luxury everything that had up to that time been seen in France. Some unfortunate Jansenist ventured to observe that, in primitive times, bishops were accustomed to prepare themselves for the promulgation of a dogmatic creed by a solemn fast. Forty bishops resolved to go along with the court; fourteen, afterwards reduced to nine, were more or less opposed to the acceptation,—De Noailles being at their head: and thus the *Unigenitus*

Opposition
to the
*Unigeni-
tus.*

was received by the clergy, registered in parliament, and accepted by the Sorbonne. Several of the opposing bishops published pastoral letters against the Bull; several of these were suppressed by the king in council, and censured by Rome. The prelates themselves were commanded to retire to their dioceses. One only, the Bishop of Laon, De Clermont-de-Chaste-de-Roussillon, had the weakness to withdraw his signature from the protest which he, in common with the Cardinal, had signed.

Death of
Louis XIV.

35. But the scene was about to change. In the following year, at ten o'clock on a stormy August night, Louis XIV. entered his death-agony. The next morning, with the herald's proclamation, *Le Roi est mort ! Vive le Roi !* fell the reign of Madame de Maintenon, and of the Molinists. Cardinal de Noailles reappeared at court; and it was seriously debated in what way to oppose the publication of the *Unigenitus*.

Examples
of appeals
to the fu-
ture coun-
cil.

"Appeals to the future council," says a modern author, "had always been usual. We find that even Nestorius remained unmolested between the convocation and the assembly of the Council of Ephesus. Innocent III. had said, on a subject of far less importance than the *Unigenitus*, 'If we should endeavour to decide anything on this point without the deliberation of a general council, besides the offence to God, and the infamy in the eyes of man, we should perchance incur danger to our order and office.' But this doctrine of appeal to a future council did not suit more modern pontiffs. Therefore Martin V. forbade all such appeals, in a Bull of 1418; Pius II. (1459), in the Bull *Execrabilis*; Julius II. (1509), in the Bull *Suscepti regiminis*; Gregory XIII., in the Bull *Consueverunt*; Paul V., in the Bull *Pastoralis*; and, lastly, the famous Bull, *In Cæna Domini*. On the other hand, we find that in 1239, Frederic II. appealed from Gregory IV. to a general council; in 1246, the Church of England made the same appeal from Alexander IV.; in

1264, the bishops, in the Council of Reading, sanctioned an appeal 'to the Pope in better times, or to a general council, and the Judge of all.' And after these appeals were forbidden, they still continued. In 1418, six weeks after the publication of the Bull mentioned above, the Polish ambassadors appealed from a decision of its author to a general council. In 1427, Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, did the same; so, in 1460, did Sigismund, Duke of Austria, when excommunicated by Pius II.; so, in 1472, did the Elector of Mayence, from the same Pius II.; in 1478, the bishops of the Duchy of Florence from Sixtus IV.; in 1509, the Venetian Republic from Clement VII. As late as 1688, Archbishop de Harlay, and the University of Paris, had appealed from Innocent XI. to a general council."

It is clear that, if every one is to appeal about everything from the existing authority, the Church can never be governed but while a general council is sitting. But it is equally clear that, if such an appeal is never to be allowed, the most extreme Ultramontane theory is the only true one. Nor does it concern us now to determine what is the least occasion, or who the least important personage, that may authorize or may originate such an appeal. We may content ourselves with this remark:—If any circumstances could make it lawful, those of the Church under Clement XI. might. Great uneasiness, even where the *Unigenitus* was accepted,—in France, sixteen bishops, one of them the Archbishop of the metropolis, ready to become appellants,—the first theological school in Europe, the Sorbonne, joined with them,—canons, abbats, clergy innumerable, ready to follow their example: it needed only the courage to lead the way.

For three years France was torn by the disputes between the Constitutionals, as they were called,

and the opposers of the Bull. The faculty of theology, followed by several provincial faculties, revoked its acceptance of the *Unigenitus*; and then a long series of useless negotiations went on. At length the more energetic opposers of the Bull became weary of inaction, and of the vacillation of the Regent Duke of Orleans.

The Bishops of Mirepoix, Boulogne, Montpellier, and Senez appeal to the Future Council.

36. The morning of the 5th March, 1717, was cold and sleety; nevertheless, at an early hour two bishops, Labroue, of Mirepoix, and De L'Angle, of Boulogne, might have been seen approaching the Sorbonne on foot by the so-called House of Navarre, and two others, Colbert of Montpellier, and Soanen of Senez, by the Rue S. Jacques. Arrived in the great hall, they found the members of the faculty assembling; and having informed the bedell that they had matters of importance to propose, they were received by eight Doctors, ushered with great solemnity into the common hall, and placed immediately below the Dean of the Faculty. Labroue made a short address, in which he described the dissensions created by the *Unigenitus*, and the wound which it inflicted on the Catholic faith. Soanen then read a formal document, in which the four bishops, after reciting the nature and the consequences of the Bull, and nevertheless professing all due and canonical obedience to Rome, formally appealed from it to the next general council, legitimately assembled, and to which they should have free access. Scarcely was this document concluded, when there arose a confused shout from the Doctors of *Adhæremus! Adhæremus!* Voices being called for, ninety were for adherence to the appeal, while twelve only pronounced themselves against it. The prelates, escorted with a suitable body of Doctors, next waited on the Procurator-General, who refused to allow

The Sorbonne adheres.

them to lodge their appeal with him ; they then went to demand the *Apostoli*, by which, on appeal made, the cognizance of a cause is transmitted from the lower to the higher tribunal ; in this case, from the Pope to the Council. Somewhat to their surprise, these letters were most graciously given ; and such was the ardour for adhesion to the appeal, that the officiality was, for some time, kept open both by night and by day ; and in comparatively a few hours two thousand ecclesiastics had signed their names to the Protest of the four bishops. In the meantime the news had already reached the palace. One Vivant, curate of S. Merry, as soon as he saw the turn which matters were taking at the Sorbonne, had hastened to inform the Regent.

37. The opposition to Rome increased daily. The appellants were now joined by De Noailles, the Bishops of Verdun, Pamiers, Agen, Condom, Châlons, and S. Malo ; the three former, indeed, put forward an appeal of their own to the Pope better informed, and to a general council. Clement XI. issued his Bull *Pastoralis Officii*, whereby he cut off the appealing prelates from his communion. The appellant bishops appealed again ; they were now eighteen or nineteen in number : whole religious communities joined them ; chapters, isolated parish priests, laity, all united. The various parliaments suppressed the *mandemens* of the Ultramontane bishops against the Appeal.

38. Amidst these commotions, the Cardinal de Noailles did not forget the surviving nuns of Port-Royal. Penitence of Cardinal de Noailles. Six only remained ; they were received, five in the House of Malnoue, one into that of Etrées. To the latter, Madame de Valais, the Cardinal wrote on the subject of her reception to Communion. His crime had been public—so should his penitence be ; and he fixed the church of S. Geneviève for her reception, that it

might be performed in the most solemn manner. The nun agreed to the place; but, to spare the Cardinal's feelings, appointed four in the morning as the time.

Had Clement XI. lived, it is difficult to guess what might have been the end of the controversy. The same Faculty of Theology which had obliged John XXI. to retract his errors on the Beatific Vision, might have overthrown the Molinism of an Albani. But the timely concessions of Innocent XIII. and Benedict XIII., preceded as they had been by the accommodation of 1720, by which, in a measure, the *Unigenitus* was explained, weakened the party of the Jansenists. One by one, the principal appellants withdrew their Appeal.

The Molinists resolve to attack Soanen of Senez.

39. The infamous Dubois, who united the most disgusting debauchery to the wildest dreams of ambition, he who destroyed his marriage register to obtain, in his wife's lifetime, an archbishopric,—he who refused the Viaticum, and died, from the effects of his licentious life ^b, cursing and blaspheming,—threw the whole

^b It is thus that Saint Simon relates the history of this awful death-bed,—an account the more important, because Rohrbacher endeavours to represent Dubois as a respectable kind of person, after all. His licentious life had rendered an operation necessary, which his terror induced him to procrastinate to the last moment:—"After having left him in repose for a short time, the physicians and the surgeons proposed to him to receive the Sacraments, and to undergo the operation immediately afterwards. He received the announcement with great discomposure. He had scarcely been out of a passion since the commencement of his illness, and his rage had increased on the Saturday, when the necessity of the operation was first announced. Nevertheless, a short time afterwards he sent for a Recollet of Versailles, with whom

he was alone for a quarter of an hour only. For a man who had led so pious a life, and who was so well prepared, no further time was surely necessary. Besides, this is the ordinary privilege of the last confessions of prime ministers. When the attendants re-entered his chamber, they proposed to him to receive the Viaticum; he cried out, that that was very easily said, but that there was a ceremonial for cardinals, with which he was not acquainted, and that it would be right to procure it from the Cardinal Bissy, at Paris. The bystanders looked at each other, and saw that he wished to procrastinate; but, as the operation was urgent, they again proposed to him to receive it instantly. He told them in a fury to go about their business, and would have no more said to him on the matter. The faculty, who

weight of his corruption, on the Ultramontane side. The Bishops of Mirepoix and Boulogne had been taken away from the evil to come; Colbert of Montpellier, with inflexible resolution, persevered in his appeal, and defended himself so well that, eager as his superior, the Archbishop of Narbonne, was to censure him, it was not thought desirable to proceed to a Council. The fury of the storm burst on Soanen, whom I have already mentioned as one of the four original appellants, and whom we shall hereafter find one of the great supporters of the distressed Church of Utrecht. He, now in the eighty-first year of his age, afforded his opponents an opportunity, by his Pastoral Instruction of August 18, 1726. He expressed himself so strongly, in this document, against Papal Infallibility and the *Unigenitus*, that the royal licence for a provincial council was obtained.

Tencin, a man of infamous character, and an ally of the Molinists, was now Archbishop of Embrun, and Metropolitan of Soanen. In the letters which convoked the council not one word was said of the

saw imminent danger in the least delay, sent to the Duke of Orleans at Meudon. He came at once to Versailles in the first carriage on which he could lay hands, entreated the Cardinal to undergo the operation, and enquired from the faculty if it could be performed with safety. The surgeons and physicians replied, that they could give him no assurance of the kind; but that, unless it were performed at once, the Cardinal could not live two hours. The Duke of Orleans returned to the bed-side, and obtained the sufferer's consent. The operation then took place, at 5 o'clock, in five minutes, by La Peyronnie, first surgeon of the king. The Cardinal cried and stormed strangely. When the Duke of Orleans again entered the room, the faculty told him that, from the nature of the

wound, the sick man was not long for this world. He died precisely twenty-four hours afterwards, on the 10th of August, grinding his teeth at his surgeons, to whom he had never ceased to use the most villainous language. They brought him extreme unction. Nothing further was said about Communion; no priest remained with him: he thus finished his life in the greatest despair and rage at having to quit it. So it was that fortune mocked him. She made him buy his prosperity dearly by all kinds of troubles, cares, projects, intrigues, disquietness, and torment of spirit, and at length poured in upon him a torrent of greatness, power, and immeasurable wealth, which he only enjoyed for four years."

real object ; and the good old Bishop expressed his joy at the meeting of a provincial synod, and his resolution, notwithstanding his great age, to be there. Others, longer sighted, if less charitable, than the prelate, warned him of his danger. He disregarded the warning, yet he took the precaution of protesting beforehand against recognising in the council any judge of matters connected with the Constitution and his own appeal, as a body incompetent to entertain this kind of questions. In the beginning of August he commenced his journey, and toiling over the rugged passes of the Basses Alpes, reached Embrun on the 11th. He had scarcely taken up his residence there, when an earnest of the intended proceedings was given by the violent seizure of some packets of papers sent him by a friend at Digne, as necessary for his defence.

Pseudo-
Council of
Embrun.

40. On Saturday, the 16th of August, the council was opened with great solemnity. There were five bishops present: Tencin himself, Soanen, De Bourchenu of Vence, whose mind was weakened by repeated fits of epilepsy, De Crillon of Glandève, educated for the sea, but removed from the service as unfit for it, and Anthelmy of Grasse, a prelate who was the creature of the court. The other suffragans were, the Bishop of Digne, who was ill, and the Bishop of Nice, who was not consecrated, and who besides was not a French subject. In his opening address, Tencin spoke of "a wolf in sheep's clothing," "a gross liar," and "persevering rebellion;" but no actual steps were taken against Soanen till everything had been prepared for the blow that was to be struck. In the second general congregation, the Archbishop called on the promoter of the council to bring forward any business that might be waiting its consideration. This personage, who was Vicar-general of the diocese,

then, in a set speech, full of the most fulsome flattery of Tencin, his Christian virtues and austere morals, (Tencin, whose debaucheries were as notorious as revolting,—Tencin, who had been engaged in all the vile negotiations which elevated the monster Dubois to the cardinalate,—Tencin, judicially convicted of perjury to conceal simony,—Tencin, whose sister, with his full approbation, originally a nun, and expelled from her convent for unchastity, then a canoness, was Cardinal Dubois's avowed mistress, and the builder of her brother's fortunes,) brought Soanen's Pastoral Instruction before the council, and demanded that he should either disavow it, or that the synod should condemn it.

41. The aged Bishop was ordered to withdraw. "Your protest against the incompetency of the council," whispered one of his theologians. The demand was insisted on by the President; Soanen did not persevere in his wish to present his act, and went out. Recalled at the end of an hour, he acknowledged the Pastoral Instruction, signed a copy of it, and then demanded that his Act of Incompetence should be considered. He retired a second time, and when readmitted was informed that the synod rejected his protest. Untouched by the evident tendency of the proceedings, Soanen read and left on the table a new act, by which he refused every single member of the council as his judges,—Tencin as publicly and notoriously guilty of simony; the others as avowed partisans, and as having prejudged the case they were about to try:—

"We therefore," he concluded, "declare to you, Monseigneur Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun; to you, Monseigneur Bourchenu, Bishop of Vence; to you, Monseigneur de Crillon, Bishop of Glandève; to you, Monseig-

The Bishop refuses his judges. neur Anthelmy, Bishop of Grasse ; and to you, M. de Puget, as representing the Bishop of Digne,—1. That we renew our former act of refusing the council as our judges, on account of its notorious incompetency to judge of our person and writings,—for reasons alleged in the said act. 2. That even were the said council competent to judge us, which it is not, we refuse you, all and each, as our judges, for the reasons we have stated ; beseeching, requiring, and demanding that you abstain from all judgment, and protesting the nullity of all that you may do or attempt to the prejudice of our said recusation, and reserving to ourselves the right to procure, by all lawful ways, the reversal of your judgment.

“Done at Embrun, this 18th of August, 1727.”

In the succeeding days, attempts were made to bring the resolute Bishop to submission, or, at least, to a recognition of the authority of the council. As his deprivation was predetermined, the only question now was, how to effect it—twelve bishops being necessary. It was agreed to request the attendance of some prelates from the neighbouring provinces of Arles, Aix, Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne: the most strenuous supporters of the *Unigenitus* were selected, two being actually Jesuits. Ten accepted the invitation: it would have been difficult to find an equal assembly of Constitutionaries in France. While they were on their way some general resolutions were adopted, to pass the time.

He is nevertheless cited,

42. When the bishops had arrived, Soanen was canonically cited,—the first time on the 9th, the second and third on the 11th, of September. He obeyed the last summons, went to the synod, and then and there appealed to the Pope and to the Future Council. Belzunce, Bishop of Marseilles,—the same who had more happily distinguished himself in the great plague,—yawned ceaselessly, and fanned himself with a roll of paper ; Anthelmy chattered to his neighbour. At

the conclusion of this appeal, the venerable prelate again refused the five original bishops as his judges ; and, in addition, four of the new-comers. He appealed, in defence of his civil rights, to the Parliament, and notified to the invited prelates that they could only be his judges in a general or national council, not in a provincial council out of their own province. The appeal to the Parliament staggered some of the bishops, but Tencin produced a document from Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister, by which, according to the abuse of those days, he evoked all questions connected with the Synod of Embrun to the council, —that is to say, to himself.

43. Every difficulty being thus removed, the council proceeded with extraordinary speed. In the final report, Belzunce had the good taste to decline acting as judge ; the rest signed the sentence, condemning the Pastoral Instruction as schismatic, full of heretical spirit, abounding with errors, and fomenting heresy ; and suspended Soanen from all episcopal power and jurisdiction, and from the exercise of every sacerdotal function. Soon came the judgment of the court : a *lettre de cachet* consigned the illustrious prisoner to the *Chaise Dieu*^c. Passing through Grenoble, he break-
fasted with the Bishop of that city, and with the Bishop of Vence, who was there on a visit. The latter, a good-hearted sort of man, asked for Soanen's

con-
demned,

and impri-
soned.

^c I have seen the desolate and gloomy piles of building, now of course desecrated, to which the Bishop of Senez was thus consigned, standing on the high backbone of a mountain which almost bisects the department of La Haute Loire. It is bitterly cold, even in the height of summer ; and to the aged prelate, accustomed to sunny Provence, must have been as great a physical trial as the laxity of its inmates and

the non-residence of its abbat—a fine gentleman in Paris—were, no doubt, to one whose great effort during his whole life had been the restoration of discipline. I have seen also, in the public library at Clermont Ferrand, several letters of his, written with the trembling hand of a very aged man from the place of his imprisonment, and, without exception, signed *Jean, Evêque de Senez, Prisonnier de Jésus-Christ*.

blessing. "You have broken," he said with a smile, "my arms and my legs,—how can I give you the benediction? Allow me rather to embrace you." On entering the *Chaise Dieu*,—"This," he said, "shall be my rest for ever; here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein." Hence he went, thirteen years afterwards, to the freedom of which a tyrannical monarch had deprived him on earth. He was not, however, left without advocates in the hour of his distress: thirty-one prelates approved the council; but twelve, one of whom was De Noailles, rejected it, and they were followed by 2,000 priests. The *Instruction* of the Bishop of Montpellier on the occasion, in which he proves the invalidity of the sentence, is a very able work. De Tencin, president of the Council of Embrun, whose sister ruled the counsels of Dubois, was rewarded with the archbishopric of Lyons, and a cardinal's hat. It cannot, however, be denied that the party was much shaken by this proceeding; and still more so by the acceptance of the *Unigenitus*, which De Noailles, never a strong minded man, and now apparently in his dotage, published during the course of the next year.

Decline of
Jansenism.

44. We may fix 1727 as the period at which French Jansenism began to decline,—though from another cause. In that year, a deacon, by name Paris, a man, it would seem, of holy life, and of some name among the opposers of the *Unigenitus*, was buried in the cemetery of S. Medard. It soon began to be reported that miracles were performed at his tomb. Whatever may now be said to the contrary, the belief was very general, and the witnesses unsuspected. Rollin, so well known in our schools, was convinced of the reality of the cures; and it must be confessed that, if anyone will take the trouble of looking into De

Miracles
attributed
to Paris.

Montgeron's large quarto on the subject, it does seem extremely difficult to allow sufficient evidence for any miracle, if we deny it to these. But it is also most certain that false miracles began to be got up, and that with very little skill. A glazier, who had spoken ill of Paris, had his windows broken, by invisible hands, at night. The Duke of Anjou was poisoned by earth taken from the tomb. Soon a frenzy seized the most devoted adherents of the party. Men and women resorted in numbers to the cemetery. There they worked themselves up to a pitch of fanaticism; they leapt wildly about, they foamed at the mouth, they tore their hair and their clothes; there were groans, sobs, hysterics, and finally the most frightful contortions and convulsions. Sometimes a hundred of these devotees were fanaticising themselves at one time. The spectacle was most revolting; and the king very wisely caused the cemetery to be closed. The Jansenist epigram has more wit than truth:—

Scenes in
the ceme-
tery of
S. Medard.

“ De par le Roi.—Défense à Dieu
De faire miracles en ce lieu.”

45. The chief supporters of the cause in the middle of the eighteenth century were, Colbert of Montpellier, who may be regarded as, while he lived, its leader; Fitz-James of Soissons, a son of the Duke of Berwick; Bossuet of Troyes, a nephew of the great Bossuet; and De Montazet of Lyons, the latter of whom upheld to the French Revolution the same tenets for which S. Cyran and Soanen suffered. He died in 1788. But of all the prelates who remained firm to Augustinian teaching, De Caylus of Auxerre was the most celebrated. During his long episcopate of fifty years he pursued one consistent course; and he never retracted his appeal. While he believed in the miracles of Paris and others,—as Levier, of the parish of S. Leu, Noc-Menard of the diocese of Nantes, and Duguet,—

Supporters
of de-
clining
Jansenism.

he strongly reprobated Convulsionism. For fourteen years he was the only survivor of the appellants ; and he maintained most friendly connections with the Church of Utrecht.

Convul-
sionists.

46. On the closing of the cemetery of S. Medard, at once, by one of those strange contagions which physiology cannot as yet explain, *Convulsionists* appeared all over the country. They plunged more and more wildly into every kind of madness, and, it is to be feared, licentiousness ; and a set of men appeared who, under the name of *sécouristes*, gave their assistance to the actors. Of the unhappy Convulsionists—almost always women—some caused themselves to be publicly scourged, some threw themselves into water, and barked like a dog ; some took upon themselves to confess men ; till at length a young girl, as the delusion was wearing out, was actually persuaded to be *crucified*. This was on the Good-Friday of 1758 ; and the spectacle was more than once repeated. The Père Cottu was the principal performer on these occasions ; and the Sœur Françoise on one occasion remained for three hours on the cross. In the diocese of Lyons, as late as 1787, a girl was crucified in the parish church of Fareins, near Trevoux. Truly, when one calls to mind the names of Jansenius, De Hauranne, Arnauld, and Nicole, and the works by which they supported the cause of Augustinianism, and then turns to the extravagance of their miserable followers, one cannot but exclaim, “ How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished ! ”

Extrava-
gances and
blasphemies
of the
fanatics.

47. The party, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, split off into various sects, each vying with the other in profanity and fanaticism. There were the *Figurists*, who in the cries of the Convulsionists saw and explained a type of the sufferings of the Church ; the *Discernants*, akin to the last ; the *Vaillantists*, dis-

ciples of one Vaillant, who appeared in Provence, and expected the immediate coming of Elias ; the *Marguillistes*, infamous for their debaucheries ; the *Eliasites*, who during the French Revolution renewed the belief of the Vaillantists. Some ecclesiastics who had defended Convulsionism were alive under the reign of Napoleon I.

Another mark of the decline of Jansenism was the unholy alliance it now made with the various parliaments who persecuted those that refused communion to the appellants from the *Unigenitus*. It is the same scene over and over again. A priest refuses the *viaticum* to a Jansenist ; the bishop supports him ; the Parliament make an *arrêt* against the prelate ; the King annuls the *arrêt*. In 1754 matters came between Louis XV. and the Parliament of Paris to that open rupture, which not obscurely heralded the French Revolution.

And here we may well draw the veil over French Jansenism.

48. Ultramontane writers see in it the germ of the social disunion of France. They regard Robespierre, Marat, and Danton as three distinguished Jansenists. The murder of Louis XVI. is in their eyes a Jansenist outrage. The worship of Reason is the mere development of Jansenist theology. We may, perhaps, come to a somewhat opposite conclusion. The Molinist king, Louis XV., in the intervals of the seductions of La Pompadour and the revolting licentiousness of the Parc-aux-Cerfs, persecutes Jansenist ecclesiastics and condemns Jansenist tenets. The Molinist ecclesiastic Terray, one of the ministers of state, employs his utmost ability to stifle the remorse of the king in fresh scenes of, and incitements to, debauchery. The Molinist minister Dubois lives an infidel, dies blaspheming ; Cardinal, Archbishop,

Frightful
corrup-
tions of the
court,

and of the
Religious
Houses.

Abbat of seven abbeys^d, postulant of Citeaux and Prémontré. A nobility that stigmatised Jansenism as belonging to the *canaille*, would not allow Lange to become the king's mistress till one of themselves had married her for the purpose of ennobling her. Molinist abbés, that had never taken orders, vied with each other in applauding the wit of Voltaire or the sentiment of Rousseau. The Molinist head of a celebrated branch of the Cistercians, Nicolas Chanlatte, fifty-second Abbat of Pontigny, and *Primarius Pater* of the order, was remarkable for the extreme elegance of the bouquets which he prepared for the boudoirs of his lady visitors, and for the charming manner in which he accompanied himself to the song, *Du moment qu'on aime*. De Monsigny and De Gretry never heard their airs more delicately given than in the abbatial drawing-room. I have seen it in its ruins at Pontigny,—that drawing-room which looks out on the church, so tremendous in its Cistercian and Transitional sternness,—the church which Hugh of Macon had founded,—where S. Thomas of Canterbury had prayed, and where S. Edmund rests. Are we, after all this, to look to Jansenism, or to the corrupted morals of Molinism, for the cause of the horrible dissolution of civil and ecclesiastical relations which shewed itself so awfully around the dying bed of Louis XV.?

^d It is thus that S. Simon sums up his wealth, prefacing the detail by the text, "I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree. I went by, and lo, he was gone; I sought him, but his place could no more be found." The figures represent francs:—Post of prime minister, 150,000; direction of the Post, 100,000; pension from England,

960,000; archbishopric of Cambray, 120,000; pension, as Cardinal, from the French clergy, 20,000; abbey of Nogent, 10,000; abbey of S. Just, 10,000; abbey of Arivaux, 12,000; abbey of Bourgueil, 12,000; abbey of Berg S. Vinoux, 60,000; abbey of S. Bertin, 80,000; abbey of Cercamp, 20,000. Total, 1,554,000.

CHAPTER I.

THE EXTERNAL STATE OF THE CHURCH OF UTRECHT TILL THE REFORMATION.

1. It is with something more than the feeling of CHAP. I.
mere historical interest that I commence the annals
of the Church of Utrecht. Engaged for a century
and a half in a struggle of almost unparalleled in-
equality, where ecclesiastical power, wealth, *prestige*,
and numbers a thousand times told, were on the one
side, and simply justice and right on the other, she
has come down to our own times, persecuted, but not
forsaken, cast down, but not destroyed. A taunt and
a byeword to the rampant Ultramontaniam of modern
Europe, she has calmly and trustfully held her own,
proclaimed her unshaken attachment to Catholic union
and the Catholic faith, appealed, from time to time,
against the unjust sentences extorted from the court
of Rome, and awaits, in patience and hope, those
brighter days when her appeal can be heard, when
her isolation shall be removed, and her separate his-
tory again merged in the general annals of the West-
ern Church. If I can in any respect do justice
to the great men who have laboured and struggled
in her service, whose lives were devoted to her,
whose deaths were precious in her sight, and no
doubt in that of her LORD, I shall, perhaps, not only
interest, but console those members of our Church
who lament our isolation from the rest of Christendom,
by setting before them a memorable example of pa-
tience and perseverance, through evil report and good
report, on the part of another, and equally separated,
national communion.

Interest of
the subject
for an
English
Church-
man.

CHAP. I.

S. Willibrord,
apostle of
Friesland.

2. The Church of Utrecht owes its origin to that of England. The Catti, Batavi, and Frisones, notwithstanding various attempts that had been made for their conversion, remained in heathenism and ferocity till the conclusion of the seventh century. At that time, S. Egbert, an Irish priest and monk, who had been desirous of himself preaching the Gospel in Friesland, but was prevented by a divine intimation, despatched Willibrord, an Englishman by birth, with eleven zealous companions, to conduct the enterprise. Pepin, Mayor of the Palace, had conquered from Radbod, Duke of the Frisones, the tract of land which lay between the Rhine and the Meuse, and which then bore the name of Nether Friesland. He took the missionaries under his protection; and shortly afterwards one of them, by name Suitbert, also an Englishman, was consecrated Bishop by S. Wilfrid of York, at that time under sentence of deposition by S. Theodore of Canterbury. Shortly afterwards Willibrord himself was sent to Rome, with presents and letters of recommendation from Pepin, and was by Pope Sergius I. consecrated Archbishop of the Frisones. On his return, the city of Utrecht was assigned to him as his episcopal residence by Pepin; and in his fifty years' pontificate he brought multitudes of his flock into the fold of the Church. For these he ordained *regional* bishops,—that is, prelates without any certain see, with jurisdiction within the limits of his province.

Missionary
labours,

3. To him succeeded the great Archbishop of Mayence, the English Winfrid, better known by his adopted name of Boniface. Other labourers, however, were cultivating the same evangelical field, and conspicuous for their sanctity and their toils. Such were S. Adalbert, Archdeacon of Utrecht; S. Acca, afterwards Bishop of Hexham; S. Engelmund, who

laboured round Velsen; and S. Werenfrid, who is honoured at Elst and Westervoort. But the rising honours of the archbishopric of Utrecht gave umbrage to the see of Cologne, which claimed jurisdiction over the new converts. These claims, unheeded during the episcopates of Willibrord and Boniface, were, on the glorious martyrdom of the latter, (June 5, 754,) received at Rome; and S. Gregory, the friend and companion of the martyred Pontiff, was consecrated *Bishop* of Utrecht, the see of Cologne being at the same time raised to metropolitanical rank. In the meanwhile the Saxons Willibald and Wunibald laboured in Friesland; S. Marcellinus in Overijssel; S. Wiro, and S. Plechelm, and S. Lebuin, near Roermonde and Deventer; and by degrees the huge diocese of Utrecht received the faith. Of its first twenty prelates, most were worthy successors of Willibrord; several are reckoned among the saints. With S. Bernulphus, who died in 1054, this series ends; and then came the times of degeneracy. The Bishop was temporal lord of the Sticht, which derived its name from the city. This was divided into the Over-Sticht, now the province of Overijssel; and the Neder-Sticht, now the province of Utrecht. The incursions of the Normans, and then the continued attempts of the Counts of Holland to possess this ecclesiastical territory, fostered in the highest degree the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, so that the proverb was current,—

“Hoed u nu, hoed u dan,
Hoed u voor den Utrechtsch man.”

Temporal
power
and dege-
neracy of
his suc-
cessors.

The bishops, consequently, became warriors rather than prelates; the duties of their pastoral office were frequently exercised by suffragans, while they themselves headed armies against the Dukes of Guelders or the Counts of Holland. It is recorded, in high praise

CHAP. I.
Authority
of the
Bishop.

of Burchard 1100—1113), that he conferred holy orders with his own hands. The power of the prelates over the two Stichts was not far short of absolute, but in the city it was extremely limited. Their ordinary residence was in the castle of Wyk-by-Duurstede, and when they desired to visit the town itself they were obliged to ask leave of the magistrates,—who, with the exception of the sheriff, were elected by the citizens,—and to demand a safe conduct for those of their suite. The only bounds to their external jurisdiction were the necessity of obtaining the approbation of their Chapter before they could either convoke an assembly or declare war. Of this Chapter I shall have to speak more in the sequel. Up to the accession of Heribert, who died in 1150, the election had been popular, laity and clergy being equally interested in it. In the year 1145, Eugenius III., at the petition of the Emperor Conrad III., restricted it to the two Chapters of the cathedral and S. Saviour's (otherwise S. Boniface); it was afterwards extended to those of S. Mary, S. Peter, and S. John, which, with the other two, thenceforward constituted the Chapter of Utrecht^a. The new *régime* gave occasion to fiercer quarrels and more deadly outbreaks than the old; but the change, as we shall see, was of the highest importance, and affected the very existence of the Church of Holland.

Constitu-
tion of the
Chapter.

4. A post of such worldly honour and emolument as the bishopric of Utrecht naturally gave rise to innumerable intrigues,—and an election, in the lapse of years, was seldom effected without bloodshed. It was something, in a feudal age, to be able to lead forth forty thousand men under the banner of S. Martin; and the arms of the see, *Gules, a Cross Argent*, had more than once struck terror into the mightiest of the

^a Broedersen, Tract. Hist. ii. pp. 35—39.

neighbouring potentates. Amidst scenes like these, CHAP. I. it is easy to imagine the wreck of zeal and the absence of love which the diocese displayed. The most cultivated, the most luxurious, the most commercial state was also that in which there were fewer prelates than in any other part of Christendom; the Seven Provinces, including such towns as Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Rotterdam, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and a considerable part of modern Belgium, were under the spiritual rule of the Bishops of Utrecht; the neighbouring sees of Liége, Münster, Paderborn, and Osnabrück were in like manner eaten up with worldliness; and the enormous extent of diocese, and the frightful want of pastoral superintendence, thus comes out in the strongest colours. Degeneracy of the mediæval Bishops of Utrecht. We must also take into account the further complications of those conflicting political influences which made the Low Countries "the cockpit of Europe," and which gave such vast temporal importance to many of the sees. The Elector of Cologne, the Prince-Bishops of Liége, Utrecht, and Münster fought and conquered like any other monarchs; leaving their proper duties to their suffragans *in partibus*, they threw their whole energies into the quarrels of France, and of the Germanic Empire; into the factions of the *Hooks* and the *Codfish*; or, in later times, those of the *Grignoux* and *Chiroux*. If, as late as 1660, Bishop Galen of Münster could employ himself in battering down the houses of his flock, in revenge for an insurrection, we may form some conception of the utter forgetfulness of pastoral duties previous to the partial reformation effected by the Council of Trent, which characterized the possessors of those superb, yet miserable, sees. And so the story is well known of an Elector of Cologne who, passing through the streets of his city with his usual

CHAP. I. retinue, saw a poor man dying in a fit by the roadside. "Is there no one," he exclaimed, "who for the love of God will fetch some priest to assist this miserable creature?"—utterly forgetful that he himself had been invested with sacerdotal powers.

Difficulty
of lan-
guage.

5. Again, the difference of language must have formed a great difficulty as regarded the efficient working of the Church in the Seventeen Provinces. Walloon, with its two great varieties, Liégeoise and Montoise, pure Flemish, pure Dutch, Dutch of Guelderland, Dutch of Overijssel, Frisic, with its countless varieties—how must they have stood in the way of any united movement on the part of bishops, parish priests, and religious orders! The small town of Molquerum, in Friesland, is divided into seven little islands, joined by as many bridges; and some sixty years ago the dialect of any inhabitant marked out at once to which of the islands he belonged.

Contest
between
Oudshoorn
and James
of Suda;

6. It will be necessary to dwell on one or two of the sad consequences, as having exercised no small influence on the future course of our history. The see being vacant in 1322, James Oudshoorn, Dean of the Cathedral Church, was elected by the larger part of the Chapter. In order to obtain his bulls—his competitor, James, Bishop of Suda *in partibus*, having appealed to Rome—he was forced to expend so enormous a sum of money, that his family, one of the most ancient in Holland, was ruined. Pope John XXII., however, at length confirmed the election; but Bishop Oudshoorn had no sooner obtained the object of his wishes than he was seized with a mortal illness, occasioned, it was said, by poison, administered to him by his rival. While he lay on his death-bed, James of Suda demanded of the Pope that the see of Utrecht should be reserved to the Apostolic Chamber, accord-

ing to the new practice then beginning to be timidly brought forward by the Court of Rome. His aim was to obtain that dignity by the gift of the Pope which he felt he could never reach by the election of the Chapter. The proposal was graciously accepted at Avignon, but the proposer did not gain the recompense he had hoped. On the death of Oudshoorn, the Chapter, acknowledging no apostolical reserves, elected John, Baron of Bronkhorst. John XXII. declared the election null. On this, the Duke of Brabant and the Counts of Holland and Guelderland offered to support the Papal pretension, provided their candidate, John, Lord of Diest, were nominated to the bishopric. The Pope, delighted with such support, willingly consented, and the Bishop-designate was introduced into his cathedral under a good military guard. His episcopate corresponded with its commencement. He mortgaged a large portion of the estates of the Church; and after reducing himself by his lavish expenditure to poverty, lived on a pension assigned him. On his death, in 1341, he left the ecclesiastical revenues overwhelmed with debt.

7. John of Bronkhorst—become a candidate for the second time—and John of Arckel divided the votes of the Chapter. Benedict XII. claimed the nomination to the see, and appointed Nicolas de Caputiis, auditor of the Rota, to that dignity. This ecclesiastic, finding that he should be compelled to residence, abdicated; and—no doubt for a consideration—recommended John of Arckel to the Pope. Clement VI., for another consideration, raised him to the see of Utrecht. This prelate was a most distinguished warrior, and was regarded as unconquerable. In the contests of the Hooks and the Codfish he took an active part; at the same time he was a zealous supporter of the external disci-

and between John of Bronkhorst and John of Arckel.

CHAP. I. pline of his Church. He was translated to Liège in 1364.

The Mys-
tics.

During the events which I have just been chronicling, the great founder of the mystic school of theology began to distinguish himself.

De Ruys-
broek.

8. It was on a fine August evening that I visited the little village of Ruysbroek, the birthplace of the "ecstatic Doctor." The singularly uneventful annals of the life of John de Ruysbroek, peaceful and lovely in the midst of a turbulent and luxurious generation, were not, I thought, ill typified by the sunshiny repose of that little Belgian hamlet, so near the din and turmoil of a corrupt metropolis. Long after he was considered the first ascetic divine of his age, John contented himself with the post of a vicar in the collegiate church of S. Gudule, in Brussels, whence he was the director of all the communities, far and near, that were most distinguished for holiness and discipline. He was the reformer of the Abbey of S. Severin, near Chateau Laudun; mediately, it is believed, of the great convent of Rhynsberg, and of the collegiate church of Groenen-dael (Val-Vert), where the last years of his life were spent. But what his influence must have been is rather to be gathered from the tone taken at once by all his scholars,—that intense love to God, that overwhelming devotion to the Passion^b, which characterized the mystic school of Holland, from Ruysbroek himself to De Neercassel. While the competitors for the see of Utrecht were persecuting each other, and ruining their families by gratuities to the Pope,—while, later, the rivals for the chair of S. Peter were fulminating their anathemas against their opponents, were availing themselves of every engine that intrigue, simony, and corruption could supply,—it is

^b See note A, at the end of the book.

pleasant to turn aside, as we shall do in the next CHAP. I.
chapter, to the writings and labours of these pious monks, and to see in them, and in such as they were, the seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to this Baal of pontifical worldliness.

9. I must first, however, relate another schism, Contest
between
Diephold
and
Sweder.
which had still more important consequences to the Church of Utrecht. On the death of Frederic de Blanckenheim, counted the fifty-first Bishop, there were three candidates,—Rodolph de Diephold, Sweder de Culemburg, Dean of the Cathedral, and Walraff de Morsan. As the Canons were in deliberation, a Burgomaster of Utrecht broke into the conclave, and threatened his nephew, the Dean of S. Peter's, with death, if he gave his vote for any but Rodolph. On this, the Cathedral Chapter protested, that any election made under a threat would be invalid, and retired. The other Chapters continued their deliberations. Sweder, finding himself without any chance, gave his votes to Rodolph,—who was thus elected by the four Chapters; the Cathedral Chapter elected Walraff. Rodolph, however, who was a layman, having the immense majority of suffrages, was enthroned, and took possession; and then requested his bulls from Martin V. This demand was supported by the city, and by the Duke of Cleves. Martin, at the end of two years, declared the election null; and in the plenitude of his power named Raban, Bishop of Spire, to the see. This prelate took the precaution of inquiring whether he should have any chance of entering his cathedral without bloodshed. On learning that his episcopate must undoubtedly be purchased by a battle, he sold all his right to Sweder, the disappointed candidate, in return for Sweder's deanery, "*and other things.*" It was two years before this ar-

CHAP. I. rangement was ratified by the Pope, and Sweder,

Invasion of
Utrecht by
Sweder.

having obtained his Bulls, marched upon Utrecht. With very great difficulty, and after having been tied up by the most solemn oaths, he was enthroned ; while Rodolph, for his part, fled into Brussels, maintained his rights, and appealed to the Pope better informed. Oaths, however, were nothing to Sweder. Bernard Proeys, the burgomaster who had distinguished himself for his zeal on behalf of Rodolph, was found murdered in his bed. Arrests, imprisonments, executions, followed in such quick succession, that the three estates of Utrecht (Aug. 21, 1425) forbade anyone to obey (that is, as a temporal lord) the so-called Bishop. Shortly after, the partisans of Rodolph obtained possession of the castle, and Sweder was driven from the city. Rodolph was recalled, and, under the title of Bishop-postulate, took the charge of the Church ; and the *Postulaets gulden* which he struck are esteemed by *virtuosi* as among the rarest of Dutch coins. Sweder assembled the few ecclesiastics that adhered to him at Arnheim, and laid the diocese under an interdict. The three estates appealed to the Pope ; and as Martin V. looked down on the whole proceedings with a lofty unconcern, they next appealed to the Future Council.

Rodolph,
Bishop-
postulate.

10. When Eugenius IV. succeeded to the Papal chair the Estates implored his assistance. He could not afford to treat the matter with the unconcern of his predecessor, for the Council of Basle was sitting. After despatching the Bishop of Macon to make inquiries on the spot, he, by a Bull of Oct. 13, 1433, declared that his predecessor had been mistaken in refusing to confirm the election of Rodolph ; that the crimes of Sweder were of the most gross and glaring character ; he annulled all the acts of that intruder, and confirmed the election of Rodolph. That Bishop

Bull of
Martin V.
reversed by
Eugenius
IV.

survived the pacification twenty-two years, and governed his Church with great prudence. Sweder, after having vainly appealed to the Council of Basle, from whom he could obtain nothing but the empty title of Archbishop of Cæsarea, died of a broken heart in that city. His partisans chose Walraff, his early competitor, as his successor. He obtained the confirmation of the Duke of Savoy, called Felix V. in his obedience, and returned to Arnheim; and, more fortunate than his predecessor, was presented with the bishopric of Münster as his reward for ceasing to vex the Church of Utrecht.

11. The successor of Rodolph, Gisbert de Brederode, had a cruel war to maintain against David of Burgundy, the natural son of Philip the Good. This personage partly forced Gisbert, partly brought him to consent to abdication. His arbitrary government, supported as it was by the authority of his brother, Charles the Bold, roused the citizens to revolt, and a long war was the result. David, however, maintained himself till his death in 1496. He is praised for some good qualities, especially for insisting on the necessity of learning in his clergy. Having heard great complaints of the laxity of the episcopal examinations, he once undertook them himself, and only admitted three out of three hundred candidates.

12. The temporal sovereignty of the Sticht remained in the see till the decease of Philip of Burgundy, fifty-seventh bishop. This prelate obtained a brief from Leo X., which is of the greatest importance in the defence of the rights of his Church. It concedes that neither he, nor any of his successors, nor any of their clergy or laity, should ever, in the first instance, have his cause evoked to any external tribunal, not even under pretence of any apostolic letters whatever; and

CHAP. I.

David of
Burgundy.The Bull
*Debitum
pastoralis.*

CHAP. I. that all such proceedings should be *ipso facto* null and void. The Pontiff was here only confirming an inalienable right of the Church ; but his confirmation was providential, as viewed in respect to the great schism that was, in the course of years, to break out. Philip's successor, Henry of Bavaria, before consecration, was expelled the city by a faction, and, seeing no hope of otherwise regaining possession, he offered to cede to the Emperor, Charles V., as Count of Holland, his temporal sovereignty, if that monarch would assist in reinstating him in his see. He had sworn to defend all the privileges of that see, but he did not hesitate between breaking his oath and losing his office. The cession took place on the 1st of October, 1528 ; the privileges of the inhabitants were immediately crushed, the council abolished, and the citizens were compelled to take an oath of fidelity to their new master,—a requisition never made by their ecclesiastical lords. Finding his rule unpalatable, Charles V. took the precaution of strengthening it by the erection of a castle, which, in honour of a peace he concluded with the Duke of Guelderland, he named Vredenburg. Thus the Church of Utrecht lost her temporal lordship ; and, perjured as the bishop was who ceded it, can we doubt that she was well rid of so burdensome an appendage ?

But the rights of the Canons remain intact.

13. Not one word is said in the act of cession regarding any limitation of the power of free election enjoyed by the Canons. *But*—for a difficulty must be fairly met—in the Bull of Clement VII., bearing date Aug. 20, 1529, which confirms this cession, mention is made of a certain act, by which the Chapters engaged to elect him only whom the Emperors of Germany, in quality of Dukes of Brabant and Counts of Holland, should have recommended. But there are

several sufficient answers to this objection:—1. This act is mentioned nowhere else, nor is there the slightest allusion to it either in any contemporary records, or in the thanks returned by the Emperor, nor in a second brief of Clement on the same topic; nor has it, nor any copy of it, ever been produced. Add to which, that it is only mentioned accidentally in the Bull, and we shall have evidence enough in the following pages, how little historical worth such assertions can frequently boast. 2. Granting the act to have been given, it was *ultra vires* of the Canons, themselves only depositaries, and not absolute possessors of the right. 3. The cession was not acted on by those whom it most concerned to have availed themselves of it, as we shall see presently. The probability is that it was supposititious; the certainty that, let the case be how it may, it was never considered binding either by one party or the other.

14. Henry of Bavaria enjoyed his ill-gotten dignity only for five years. He fell into contempt among his people, went by the name of *de blaauwe Bisschop*, resigned, in vain endeavoured to re-obtain his see, and died in obscurity as Bishop of Frisingen. His successor was William Enchvoort, a native of Brabant. He was Cardinal, and already Bishop of Tortosa, in Spain. Clement VII., in the plenitude of his power, elevated him to the see of Utrecht—a violent infringement of all right, but proving nothing against that of the Chapters, who, if they ceded it at all, ceded it not to the Pope, but to the Emperor. He never visited his see, which he held seven years. On his death, George of Egmont, of the Counts of that name, was duly elected by the Canons, and confirmed without difficulty (1536). He seems to have been a truly pious man, and must have been a welcome change after

Succession
of bishops.

George of
Egmont.

CHAP. I. the warriors and intriguers of the preceding century and a half. His alms and austerity of life were well known, and he was especially strict in the personal examination of candidates for holy orders. It was he who gave the first of its celebrated stained-glass windows to the Church of Gouda: the artist was Dirk Crabeth, and the subject is the Baptism of our LORD. George of Egmont died at his monastery of S. Arnaud, near Tournay, September 26, 1559, and was buried there. His heart, however, was interred at Utrecht, and his epitaph alone, of the seventy archbishops, exists in its desecrated walls.

But before I describe the erection of the see of Utrecht into an archbishopric, we will go back in the order of time to glance at the life of deep holiness and piety which had been the inner and more real existence of the Church of Holland during the centuries of her worldliness.

CHAPTER II.

THE BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE.

1. WE have already remarked the influence which, CHAP. II.
in the middle of the fourteenth century, Ruysbroek
exercised in Brabant and the adjacent provinces. We
must now turn our eyes to the history of his greatest
scholar, the man to whom, under God, almost all the
religious life of Holland in the next century was
owing.

Geert Groote (Gerardus Magnus) was born at De-
venter, in the October of 1340. The place was one of
considerable importance, and had formed its own
treaties with the Count of Holland, and with the King
of Denmark. His father held the offices of burgo-
master and sheriff in the town. Geert commenced
his education in the school of his native place, and
was then removed to Aix-la-Chapelle, and afterwards
to Paris, where his career fell in the troublous times
of the domination of the *Prevôt des marchands*, Jean
Marcel, and the plague and famine that desolated the
city. In three years he took the degree of Master,
and some years later we find him at Avignon. On
his return to his native land, he spent some time at
Cologne; where, and at Aix, he held a prebend.

2. "But," says his affectionate biographer, Thomas
à Kempis, "not as yet inspired by the SPIRIT of God,
he walked along the broad ways of this world, until,
through God's loving kindness, he became changed
into another man." The pious writer goes on to tell
His con-
version.

CHAP. II. us how Geert was convinced of the vanity of the world by the prior of a Carthusian monastery, near Arnheim:—

“At that time,” says he, “the state of the world appeared everywhere most lamentable; there were few who preached the Word of Life, either by their lips or their lives,—fewer who observed continence,—and, grievous to say, the name of holy religion and the state of devotion did, for lack of the HOLY GHOST, exceedingly fall away from the footsteps of the fathers. Yet among the Carthusians the light of celestial life remained hidden.”

This is another testimony to the truth of the proud motto of that order—*Never reformed, because never deformed*. Thomas goes on to describe the alteration effected in Geert — his resignation of his canonries at Utrecht and Aix, and finally his pilgrimage to Groenendael, to receive instruction from John Ruysbroek.

3. The first effect of his conversion was his intense zeal to bring back his countrymen to real, vital religion. His mission wonderfully resembles that of Wesley, and the tenor of his letters is exactly like that of the English missionary and his friends. But he met, at the outset, with greater support. Providentially, at that time Utrecht had a prelate, Florentius van Wevelinckhoven, (1379—1393), who had courage to support, though not himself distinguished for his learning, the enthusiastic reformer. Of him it is recorded, that such was his ardour in prayer, as to expose him to the ridicule of his clergy; and that his only reply was, “What wonder is it, seeing I have many sheep, that I should make many prayers?” This prelate gave Geert, though only a deacon, permission to preach through his whole diocese, after he had in vain endeavoured to persuade him to receive the priest-

He
preaches
through-
out the
diocese of
Utrecht:

hood. "No," replied he; "not for all the gold of CHAP. II. Arabia would I have the care of souls, even for one night." We find him at Utrecht, at Deventer, at Zwolle, at Zutphen, at Kampen, at Amersfoort, at Gouda, at Amsterdam, at Haarlem, at Delft, at Leyden. Crowds hung upon his words; the ordinary his popularity. business of life ceased where he preached. He frequently delivered two sermons in the same day, and they not unusually were of three hours' length. Whatever popularity he might win among the common people, the clergy were jealous and offended. The curious *regime* of mediæval Holland, which supplied the want of episcopal efficiency by a reticulation of enormous collegiate churches,—such as those of Oldenzaal, Zutphen, and Zwolle,—must also have occasioned a swarm of exactly that kind of dignitaries who have always proved themselves most bitterly opposed to earnestness, in whatever shape.

4. Their influence at length prevailed on the Bishop He is inhibited from preaching. to revoke his license, and Geert Groote thus found himself silenced. I have said that some of his expressions and letters strongly resemble those of Wesley at the commencement of his career. Thus an epistle written by him to some priests in Amsterdam runs thus:—"Be not terrified, beloved, if ye hear an evil report from them of Kampen against me. All, as I trust, succeeds according to the will of God, *and the Church in Kampen*" (notice how strongly the phrase resembles that of a later period,) "is marvellously increased; to God Most High be praise and glory! Let love be inflamed within us, and that not moderately, but vehemently. Let us despise earthly commendation; and at the same time let us be patterns to the praise of the Most High^a." Thus might Wesley have written;

^a Quoted by Thomas à Kempis, chap. ix.

CHAP. II. but Wesley would not have acted as Geert's biographer goes on to inform us that *he* did:—

“ Perceiving that many ecclesiastical dignitaries were against him, and through hostile emulation endeavoured to hinder his preaching, and that he was interdicted by a crafty edict, he humbly yielded to their fury and malice, not choosing to agitate the people against the clergy. And he said to those who were indignant at an inhibition so got up,—‘ They are our superiors, and we wish, as we ought and are bound, to observe their edicts. For we seek not to hurt any, nor to excite scandal. The LORD knoweth from the beginning those that are His; and He will call them, as He pleases, without our means.’ He therefore kept silence for a time, and in the meanwhile betook himself to private exhortations.”

Strong representations were, however, made to the Bishop of Utrecht as to the injustice of this interdict; and it would seem to have been removed. An anonymous epistle to that prelate on the subject is preserved by Thomas.

But although his labours as a preacher might thus be interrupted, Geert Groote found abundant employment in the foundation and the development of the order which has made his name famous in the Church.

The Brothers of the Common Life,

5. In looking back from a point of view which his contemporary biographers could not even imagine, it is impossible to avoid expressing our amazement at the intuitive—I had almost said the prescient—sagacity of Geert's conception. Profane learning was then just beginning to revive. It is as though Geert had foreseen the near approach of that fierce devil, unsanctified human intellect, and the chief means by which it would prevail—an ignorant priesthood, and the almost total proscription of Holy Scripture. The order, then, was designed to teach the young, to send

out preachers, and to recommend the study of Holy CHAP. II. Scripture; in short, it was a true and holy reform, and was therefore certain to find bitter opposition.

Deventer was the centre of the movement. Geert the re-
vivers of
learning. procured the best MSS. from neighbouring abbeys and collegiate churches; he collated, he corrected, he introduced a true criticism; and his fellow-labourers distinguished themselves by the beauty of their calligraphy and the correctness of their text. This was the commencement of that reputation which Holland retained for her learning when she lost her faith. The Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen—the Graevii, the Gronovii, the Heinsii, the Valckenaers, the Kusters, the Burmanns, the Hemsterhuisen, all owe their name and their fame to the impulse given by the scholar-monk of Deventer.

6. During the course of his studies in Paris, Geert William de
Salva-
varillâ. had contracted an intimate friendship with William de Salvavarillâ, Precentor of that cathedral, and Archdeacon of Brabant in the diocese of Liège. This ecclesiastic enjoyed a high character both for religion and learning, and circumstances gave considerable weight to his partizanship. The great schism had just broken out between Urban VI., elected at Rome on the 8th of April, 1378, by sixteen cardinals, and Clement VII., elected at Fondi, the 27th of August of the same year, by fifteen. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine acknowledged the latter; England, Germany, and the Northern States were for Urban. Salvavarillâ, though a Frenchman, sided with Urban; and the intercession of a learned divine of that nation had of course considerable weight. In a letter to the Pope, preserved by Thomas, the Precentor earnestly requests that his friend may have license to preach in the whole province of Cologne,—or, at

CHAP. II. least, in the diocese of Utrecht. Urban, himself an earnest man, listened graciously to the petition, and, furthermore, approved the Institute of which I shall presently have more to say.

7. The final permission^b, however, could hardly have been received by the zealous preacher, when he was called from his labours on the earth, and the schism which rent the Western Church, to his rest above in the true vision of peace. During the time of his inhibition Geert Groote had principally resided at Woudrichem, now called Workum. The traveller from Antwerp to Utrecht by the post-road may see its spire to the right, at the junction of the Waal and the Maas, as he crosses the united river to Gorcum.

The Plague
at Deventer,
1383
and 1384.

In 1383 the plague broke out at Deventer, and raged fearfully, but not so destructively as in the following year. Geert Groote hastened to his native place, and busied himself in diligent attendance on the stricken men, ministering fearlessly both to their bodily comfort and to their ghostly welfare. In the month of August he was himself seized with the pestilence. Thomas à Kempis gives a touching account of his last moments :—

Geert
Groote is
seized
with it.

“ ‘ May God grant me,’ said the dying reformer, ‘ to find rest after my death, since for His cause I have laboured, written, and preached.’ His disciples, full of heaviness, groaned deeply, and cried, ‘ What shall we do? Who will instruct us for the future? You have been our defender and father, you have drawn us to the LORD. Now our adversaries will rejoice, now worldly men will mock at us, and say, They have no leader or prince; they will soon be reduced to nothing.’ The kind and gentle teacher, seeing the grief of his sons, consoled them, and replied,— ‘ Have trust in the LORD,

^b Delprat, p. 25, shews by a comparison of letters of Groote himself with that of Salvavarillâ, that the

application to Urban VI. must have been made in 1383.

beloved; fear not the reproaches of worldly men; abide firmly in your holy resolution; the Lord will be with you in this place. They will never be able to undo that of which God has decreed the accomplishment. . . . There is Florentius, the beloved disciple, in whom of a truth the HOLY GHOST rests: he shall be your father and your ruler. Hold him in my place; hear him, and obey his counsel.' After this there came to him certain devout scholars, who were struck with the pestilence, desiring, for the remedy of their souls, to hear some salutary speech from him. To whom he said kindly,—'If ye have a good will of serving God, ye may die with security. All the lessons which ye have learnt shall be reckoned to you as the LORD'S Prayer, on account of the pious intention towards God which ye had in studying.' When they heard these things, the young men were consoled; and returning to their lodgings, they died in a good confession, commending to God and the holy angels their souls redeemed through the Blood of CHRIST. And so after the Assumption of the Blessed and ever Virgin Mary, when the day of the Festival of S. Bernard was come, the venerable father, Master Gerard, who had a special devotion towards the said saint, when it was drawing towards evening, between the hours of five and six, rendered up to God his soul, fortified with the Sacrament of the Church, precious through its faith and illustrious for its many virtues; in the year of our LORD one thousand three hundred and eighty-four."

Death of
Geert
Groote,
Aug. 20,
1384.

He was buried in the lady-chapel of the collegiate church at Deventer, where his skull was discovered in 1697, and removed in a chest to the Fraterhuis at Emmerik^c. It was easily known from the remarkable orifice in the bones of the forehead, which was noticeable even in his lifetime, and which he used playfully to call his chimney.

* And this was his epitaph:—

"Gerardus Magnus vixit sicut pius agnus,
Fecit quod dixit, sicut docuit quoque vixit.
Vultu non fictus, aliis lenis, sibi strictus.
Lux fuerat cleris, tradens huic lumina
veris, &c.

Sic fuit exemplo lux in Christi bene templo
Gerardus Magnus, quam verus diligit Agnus."

CHAP. II.

8. Gerard was only in the 45th year of his age ; but besides his indefatigable labours as a preacher, and the foundations of which I shall presently have to speak, he found time for the composition of many works, the greater part of which remain MSS. in the libraries of his native land. Of his printed compositions, the most remarkable is his " Protest concerning True Preaching," which is sometimes annexed to the works of Thomas à Kempis. He also left treatises on " The Institute of the Common Life ;" " On the Institution of Novices ;" " On the Government of a Sisterhood ;" " On the Recall of those who have Fallen ;" " A Harmony of the Evangelical Accounts of the Passion ;" " A Commentary on the Lessons for the Dead ;" and many other pamphlets. Another of his treatises is " Against the Tower of the Cathedral of Utrecht." This vast erection, the glory of the metropolitical see, was commenced in 1320^d, and not completed till 1372 ; and it is not wonderful that Geert, more intent on the living and spiritual temple than on the outward fabric, should have felt indignant at the worldly neglect of the one, as contrasted with the lavish decorations bestowed on the other. It will be convenient, in the first place, to sketch the lives of some of his principal disciples and followers, then to proceed to the history of his Institute, and lastly to its regulations.

Floris Radewijnzoon.

9. *Floris Radewijnzoon*, (Florentius Radwini,) the successor of Geert Groote in the headship of the Institute of the Brothers of the Common Life, was born at Leerdam about the year 1350, and having early distinguished himself by his talents and applica-

^d So the inscription on the tower itself sets forth :—

" M. C. ter. X. bis. semel S. Paulique Jo-
hannis

Turris adaptatur, quo Trajectum decoratur."

That is, on the Feast of SS. John and Paul, June 26.

tion, was sent to complete his studies at Prague. CHAP. II.
 This fact, though mentioned by his biographers, is scarcely made so much of as it deserves to be. The avidity with which the Bohemians had, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, received a vernacular translation of the Bible, might well have impressed Florentius; at the same time he must have noticed the growing heresies which, after he had left Bohemia, found an organ and a mouthpiece in John Huss. How far he influenced Gerard, how far they both saw that the increasing Wickliffism in England and Bohemia would avail itself of the new development of feeling, and of the demand for the vernacular Scriptures, and that the Church should employ, instead of endeavouring to suppress, both,—is a point which may excite curiosity, but which must be left in doubt.

10. On his return from Prague, he experienced a remarkable escape from imminent danger, which altered the whole course of his future life. He was descending a steep hill, the road being particularly narrow, and fenced in on both sides, when a waggon, that had overpowered its horses, was hurried towards him at a fearful pace, leaving the traveller no apparent possibility of escape. In this extremity, he made an earnest vow of devoting himself to God's service, if his life were spared; and in a moment, he could not tell how, the vehicle had passed, and he was in safety.

While still under the impression of this deliverance, he attended a sermon preached by Geert Groote in S. Mary's at Deventer; and forthwith determined to follow that life which the preacher was himself pursuing. Ridicule, reproaches, and revilings were heaped upon him; he was called idiot and Lollard^e, but his

His conversion.

* "Elegit namque potens abjectus quam magnus Dominus et magister Lullardus cum habitu suis vocari, nominari." — Thomas à Kempis, cap. 9.
 aut insanus a secularibus nominari,

CHAP. II. resolution was taken. In process of time, Geert recommended him to devote himself to the priesthood; the only one of his disciples whom he permitted to receive that dignity. "I have once in my life," he was accustomed to say, "made one priest, and I hope he is a good one." His biographer gives several amusing particulars of his life, especially after he had succeeded his master:—

Anecdotes
of his life.

"Once," says he, "he was devoutly speaking of the love of God; and there stood by him a certain scholar with long and curious sleeves, quite taken up by them, and putting his hands in and out of them. 'See, brother,' said Florentius, looking at him kindly, 'what sort of sleeves I have; they give me no care or trouble. It would be a positive trial to me to wear them as long as you do.' The scholar, on hearing this, blushed a little, and stood more quietly; and, taking in good part what had been said, departed with great edification."

At another time, we are told, while the rector was taking his turn in the kitchen, (for at that time, says Thomas, all the brethren were eager to take the meanest occupations,)

"One of his neighbours was moved with compassion and said,—'My good sir, why should you take the kitchen department? Have you no one else to undertake it for you? Would it not be better that you should go to church, and that some one else should cook in your place?' The humble minister of CHRIST, Florentius, answered,—'Ought I not rather to seek for the prayers of others than for my own? While I am in the kitchen, all will pray for me; and I hope that I shall obtain more benefit from the prayers of those who are in the church, than if I were to pray alone for myself.'"

He spent a considerable time in the work of copying, which, as we shall see, was an especial employment of the Brothers of the Common Life. It is

rather amusing to see the scant measure of praise CHAP. II. which Thomas à Kempis, the first copyist of his time, awards him : *qui licet minus bene scribere sciret*, says he, Florentius would fold and pumice the leaves, and rubricate the lines for the use of others. His advice and counsel was so much sought after, that frequently he was unable to leave his room for hours together, one visitor succeeding another during the whole course of the day. Often interrupted when he had commenced one of the hours, it was his wont to say, when he resumed the book, *Adhuc semel propter Deum*. In the month of May, when, as Thomas observes, herbs of the greatest medicinal value come into flower, it was his custom to spend days together in the fields, and employ his knowledge of medicine, which was considerable, in collecting them for the benefit of his poor. His long and repeated fasts had so completely destroyed his sense of taste, that once, as his biographer relates, intending to drink off a tumbler of beer, he swallowed one of oil instead ; and that without discovering his mistake till it was pointed out to him. His illnesses were frequent and severe, and his life was more than once despaired of :—

“As often,” says Thomas, “as he was seized by any dangerous illness, it was the custom to send to the neighbouring congregations of brothers, clerks, and sisters, and request them all to pray instantly for him, that God might spare him, and might prolong his life for the salvation of many, lest we should have sorrow upon sorrow if we lost so loving a father, and so necessary a governor. I was once charged with this message to the sisters : ‘Pray for our master Florentius, for he is grievously ill.’ And, behold, the merciful Lord Who despiseth not the prayers of the poor, but willingly hears the cry of the humble, restored health to His beloved and faithful servant, to the end that he might make His power known to the sons of men. There was at that time a

His frequent illnesses.

CHAP. II. certain celebrated bachelor in medicine, Master Everard Eza, curate in Almeno, a very learned man, who, inspired by the grace of devotion, was an intimate friend of Florentius, and of his brethren, and of other devoted servants of CHRIST. He was frequently accustomed to visit the house, and to employ all his medical skill upon it.”

This Eza had been a most vigorous opponent of Geert Groote, by whom he was won over from the world, and induced, after his wife's death, to take orders^f.

11. Thomas, in relating the opposition which Florentius and his disciples experienced, points out that, nevertheless, true devotion was on the increase in Holland. The Carthusians, as always, took the lead. Some Cistercians and Benedictines are also mentioned in terms of high approbation. A school of preachers was formed in the diocese of Utrecht, chiefly owing to the example and teaching of Groote and Florentius. Of these, Master Wermbold, who was confessor to the convent of S. Cecilia, at Utrecht, was the most celebrated; at Amersfoort, William Hendrickzoon, the founder of the Canons Regular there; at Zwolle, Hendrik Gronde, confessor to the Béguinage in that town: that convent was the first reformed, and was for a long time the only one in that part of the country that was not notoriously and shamefully irregular. Mention is also made of Gisbert Dou, in Amsterdam; Deric Gruter, at Doesbrouch; and a priest named Paul at Medenblick. The progress which the Institute made under Florentius I shall presently relate; but his labours and austerities did not permit him to govern the order for many years. In the spring of 1400, when he had been superior about sixteen years, he was seized with one of his usual Lent illnesses, which the medical

Fellow-
labourers
with Geert
Groote.

^f Historia Episc. : Episc. Daventr., p. 157.

science of Eza soon pronounced to be mortal. Assembling the brethren around him, he nominated Brother Amilius as his successor, and then, says Thomas, “after Compline, when the Angelus had been rung in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the day being now finished, he also finished his earthly life.” It was his special request to be buried in the churchyard of S. Lebuin’s, without any pomp whatever; but Rambert, archpriest in the deanery of Deventer, interposed his veto. The corpse was accordingly borne by the brethren into the church, and buried before the altar of S. Paul. I have visited the flat stone which marks the resting-place of this truly great reformer. His affectionate disciples made a collection of his sayings, which Thomas has taken care to preserve:—

“In praying, you should rather ask for the grace and mercy of the Lord, than for any great rewards.” “By hurrying your words, you lose your devotion.” “Fly to your cell as you would to a friend’s; you are safe there.” “You can *think* in a crowd.” “If I have nothing great to offer, I will give what I have; as Mary’s offering was a pair of turtle-doves, and not a lamb.” “The devil is well read in Scripture, and yet is none the better for it.” “A little earnestness is better than much learning without devotion.” “Do not look at your neighbour as rich, or learned, or handsome, but as redeemed by the Blood of CHRIST.” “We seldom sit down to table without the devil’s laying an ambush for us.” “Take care what you write, that your copy is correct and your punctuation good and distinct, because it is a sad trouble to study out of an incorrectly written book.” “Whatever a man takes in hand, if he does not feel the humbler when it is finished, he has made very little progress indeed.”

12. Another of Geert Groote’s earliest fellow-labourers was John Van der Gronde, a native of Ootmarsum. He was labouring with singular success in

John Van
derGronde.

CHAP. II. Amsterdam, when Geert summoned him to Deventer, where he spent the remainder of his life, and after the death of Geert, became confessor to the sisters in that place. He was one of the most celebrated among the early preachers of the order, and it is especially related of him, that his voice filled the great church at Deventer. Thomas once heard him preach on Good-Friday for more than six hours continuously, with only the rest of a few minutes in the midst of his discourse. He was occasionally resident at Zwolle, and frequently visited Mount S. Agnes, of which more anon. He was at a distance from home when seized with an illness which he felt to be mortal, and hastened to return to Deventer, in order that Florentius might assist him in his last agony. His wish was granted, and he gave up the ghost with great resignation on May 7, 1392. Indeed, over-exertion and over-austerity mowed down the early Brothers of the Common Life. Gerard Van Zerbolt, another of their fellow-labourers, only reached the age of thirty-one. He had distinguished himself by two treatises written in Dutch, on the "Benefit of Reading Holy Scripture," and the "Use of Vernacular Prayer." On both these points he speaks most clearly and decidedly, and brings forward numerous arguments against those who were for forbidding the laity the use of Holy Scripture at all, and compelling them to employ Latin, even though they might not understand a syllable of it, in their own prayers. Van Heussen has translated large extracts from both^g: the references to the Fathers are numerous, but not very accurate; the writer continually quoting pseudo-treatises as the composition of the authors whose name they bear. The same remark applies to a writer who has been called the second to à Kempis—Gerlach Petersen. He was

Gerard
Van Zer-
bolt.

Gerlach
Petersen.

^g Historia Episcopatum: Daventr., p. 88.

received very young at Windesheim by Florentius; CHAP. II.
 and, while he was distinguished for his gift of meditation, he was also distinguished by his determined opposition to the austerities which had brought so many of the brethren to an early grave:—

“And from that time,” says the chronicler of the order, “it has been a custom among us to demand, whenever any clerk presents himself for admission, these three points: whether he can eat well; whether he can sleep well; and whether he is willing to obey; because we know that on the answers to these three questions depends, in great measure, the likelihood of his perseverance.”

Petersen, however, was as short-lived as the others, dying at the age of thirty-three, in 1414. He is known by his work, *Ignitum cum Deo soliloquium*, which has been translated into Flemish and French, and which was a great favourite with the Port-Royalists. Some consider it the masterpiece of mystic theology.

13. John Brinkerinck, who succeeded Van der Gronde as confessor to the sisters at Deventer, was also a celebrated preacher. Thomas has a story about him which, though I have already repeated it in another place, it would not be fair to omit here:—

“He was once preaching on the Circumcision, and treating most pleasantly and sweetly of the name of Jesus; exalting this blessed and delicious name above all things in heaven and earth. At length he condescended to rebuke the irreverence and familiarity with which some foolish men of this world treated the name of Jesus. ‘Why,’ said he, ‘there are some who say, with a contemptuous sneer, “Oho! Jesus is the God of the Béguines!” Fools and miserable men! Jesus the God of the Béguines? Then, pray, who is your God? Truly it is the devil. To us this holy name is a great honour and a singular joy: over and over again our brethren name Jesus; above all other things they worship Jesus; before and above the names of all the saints, they

John
Brinke-
rinck.

CHAP. II. love and adore Jesus, the Son of the living God, whom you deride and despise. True it is, the Brothers and the Béguines *do* name Jesus willingly, do laud Him devoutly, do salute each other in His name. And woe to you who have the devil in your mouths oftener than Jesus: He is too lowly and despised to please you.' Thus speedily," adds Thomas, "he gladdened the lovers of Jesus, and confounded his deriders according to their deserts."

Under his direction the number of the Béguines increased exceedingly. He erected for them a new convent, for they had hitherto been domiciled in the house that belonged to Geert Groote, and was indefatigable in catechising them in Holy Scripture. He died on March 26, 1419, and was buried before the high altar of the convent.

Lubert ten
Bosche.

14. Another of the early brethren was Lubert ten Bosche, born of a good family at Zwolle, and a devoted disciple of Florentius. Thomas relates a story of his obedience:—

"He was one day sitting in his cell and writing, and Master Florentius sent for him. He was in the last line of the page, and there were but three or four words to finish it. The brother who was sent for him said, 'Finish that line, then the page will be complete; there is no hurry.' Whereunto he, like a true son of obedience, replied, 'Not one word more; I must obey at once.' When Master Florentius heard of this prompt obedience of Lubert, 'Ah!' he said, 'Lubert, how well you know what is your true gain, and advantageous to your soul!' He was so diligent in writing, that, if anyone were talking to him, he would write on just the same, and yet be able to keep up the conversation. At another time, a youth, who was studying in the house, was writing to his parents, and Lubert invited him to sit, while doing so, in his chamber. I was there myself. Master Florentius came in and said, 'What are you about?' He answered with reverence, 'My companion is writing to his father.' Then our sweet Father said, 'Write, that you yourself may be written

in the Book of Life.' Afterwards that youth became a devout monk, and I forgot not the words of my master Florentius, which he spoke in the chamber of Lubert; for a good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, always bringeth forth good things." CHAP. II.

There are yet some other anecdotes which à Kempis relates of his friend:—

"Once on a time, when the brethren were gathered together, Master Florentius interrogated them concerning certain subjects from Holy Scripture. While many kept silence, Lubert, who was the eldest, began to reply. Master Florentius, wishing to humble and prove him before the others, says to him seriously, 'Lubert, do you think that we are ignorant of this, although we are not bachelors or masters?' He very humbly answered, 'My presumption.' For he had a custom, that, when he was rebuked for any little fault, he never would excuse himself, but rather confess it, and would say, 'My fault,' or 'My negligence,' or 'My inadvertency,' or 'My levity,' or 'My stupidity and idleness,' or some other expression of humility which might edify the brothers. When he was reading at dinner-time, he sometimes made a mistake on purpose, that he might be corrected by the corrector of the table; and sometimes he pretended that he did not hear, that he might be corrected again, desiring to be put to shame, and to be thought stupid, as if he could read no better. But Master Gerard of Zutphen, who was the corrector of the table, perceiving that he did not make mistakes from ignorance, but from humility, ceased to correct him any more. He had a manly voice like a trumpet, and read capitally well. One of the brethren once asked Master Florentius, 'Why do you not find fault with and correct me, as you do Master Lubert, and John Kettel, our cook?' The good Father, full of the virtue of discretion, answered, 'If I saw that you were as full of courage as they, I would try you in the same manner. But they are such, that they derive advantage from blame, and do not murmur, but become more humble and more fervent.' . . . He could write sufficiently well, and he was fond of writing, to avoid idleness, and would induce others to write also. A young man once asked him

His humility.

CHAP. II. to set him a copy, and he kindly consented to do so. ‘And,’ saith he, ‘you will learn to write well, for you have long and soft fingers.’ And by the co-operation of God, what he said came true. He wrote in round hand these words as a copy: ‘Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.’”

His death-bed.

And here is the closing scene of Lubert ten Bosche:—

“When, then, the plague was raging in Deventer, and the surrounding country, it removed many also of the brethren from this life, but, as we may piously believe, joined them in eternal life in the next. It fell out also that Master Lubert was seized with the same plague. And behold, in the month of July, three days before the feast of blessed Mary Magdalene, he fell ill, and took to his bed, and said that he was not long for this world. We, on the other hand, laboured with many prayers, and sought remedies from God, and from intelligent surgeons, because his life was desirable to all. But his prayers were heard beyond ours, and they were full of desires to be admitted among the heavenly citizens. One of the brethren said, ‘We shall not be separated so quickly; but we shall hold our conversations in the room of Master Florentius.’ ‘No,’ said he; ‘not here any more, but in the heavenly places with the saints:’ for he desired to depart, and to be with CHRIST. On the feast of S. Mary Magdalene, he asked that the Sequence, *Laus Tibi Christe*, might be sung in his room.

[This Sequence, which is one of the most beautiful of the kind called “Notkerian,” is by Godeschalkus, and runs as follows:—

The Sequence
Laus Tibi,
Christe.

“1. Praise be to Thee, O CHRIST, Who art the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Saviour

“2. Of the heaven, the earth, the sea, angels, and men.

“3. Whom alone we confess to be God and Man.

“4. Who didst come that Thou mightest save sinners.

“5. (Without sin, assuming the likeness of sin.)

“6. From the number of which sinners, as Thou didst visit the Canaanitish woman, as also Mary Magdalene.

“7. At the same table of the divine Word, Thou didst CHAP. II.
refresh the one with crumbs, the other with drink,

“8. In the house of Simon the Leper, sitting down at the typical feast.

“9. The Pharisee murmurs, where the woman, conscious of her sin, laments.

“10. The sinner despiseth his fellow-sinner. Thou that knewest no sin, hearest her, penitent,—cleanses her, defiled,—lovest her, that Thou mayest make her fair.

“11. She embraceth the feet of the Lord, washeth them with her tears, wipeth them with her hair: by washing, by wiping, by ointment, she anointeth them,—with kisses she encircled them.

“12. These are the banquets which are well-pleasing to Thee, O Wisdom of the Father,

“13. O Thou, born of a Virgin, Who disdainedst not to be touched by a woman that was a sinner.

“14. Thou wast invited by the Pharisee; Thou wast banqueted by Mary.

“15. Much Thou forgivest to her that loved much, and repeated not her sin in time to come.

“16. From seven devils Thou cleansedst her by Thy seven-fold Spirit.

“17. Arising from the dead, Thou didst grant her to see Thee before the others.

“18. By her, O CHRIST, Thou signifyest Thy proselyte Church; whom, albeit alien-born, Thou callest to the table of Thy sons.

“19. Whom at the feast of the law and grace, the pride of the Pharisees contemns, the leprosy of heresy vexes.

“20. What she is Thou knowest; she toucheth Thee because she is a sinner, because she is a desirer of pardon.

“21. What, sick one, could she have possessed, if she had not received it, if the Physician had not been present?

“22. King of kings, rich unto all, save us; Thou that wipest away all the crimes of sinners, Thou that art the hope and glory of saints.”]

“When it had been sung, he said, ‘What devout and fervent words are these! And he repeated to himself this verse, ruminating upon it:—‘What, sick one, could she

CHAP. II. have possessed, if she had not received it, if the Physician had not been present?’

“Many of the brethren who were present wept when they heard these things. But he, joyful in the Lord, consoled them that were mourning. Brother Amilius, who nursed him carefully, heard many edifying things from his mouth, and wrote them down.”

Death-bed
of Lubert
ten Bosche,

These notes of Brother Amilius are preserved by Thomas, and are very interesting. He first gives a letter dictated by Lubert to Florentius, who was then at a distance, on the Vigil of S. James; and next proceeds:—

“When he had dictated it, he sat up and read it over, to see if he wished to add or omit anything. Then suddenly there fell upon him such a horror and such a weakness, that he seemed to have lost all his senses; and he asked me to collect all the brethren of our house, and other good men who lived near at hand. When they were come, he was exceedingly distressed and agitated, and uttered doleful cries and lamentable sentences. . . . Then he made a sign to me, Amilius, who never left him, to take away the taper which I had put in his hand, thinking him to be in the act of death, that I might read with him the seven Psalms,—‘for,’ said he, ‘I shall not die yet.’ So he began reading one verse with me, and the other making a response, and so he went all through them with great fervour and devotion.”

After describing the temptations by which Lubert was tried, he says of the evening of the same day:—

as de-
scribed by
Brother
Amilius.

“After this, entirely worn out, he lay in great tranquillity and peace of heart until his death. For ardently he desired to be dissolved and to be with CHRIST, having a firm confidence and hope of the advent of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the glorious Virgin Mary, and the other saints. And in the aforesaid ardent desire he continued to pray, to sigh, and to meditate on pious Psalms, especially the Psalm *Beati Immaculati*, till the morrow of S. James,—often enquiring whether he was near death; whether he yet had all the signs of death; whether short breath was a true sign of death, and the like. We could in no wise console him better than

by assuring him that death was at hand. Sometimes with CHAP. II. great confidence he would exclaim, 'O when will the LORD JESUS and S. Mary, with the holy angels, come to set me free?' and the like. 'I hope that they will not tarry long. O if they would come quickly. O if they would put an end to this. I trust that I shall not abide here much longer,' and the like. And frequently he invoked SS. Mary, Jerome, and Gregory, whom he specially loved, and the other saints, to pray for him, and to succour him in the hour of death. . . . Thus in so great fervour, in such devotion, in so ardent a desire of being dissolved, in so affectionate and trustful an expectation of the coming of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the glorious Virgin Mary, the holy angels, and the other saints, he came to his last hour; nor, as it seems, was the request of his lips denied. In all his limbs he was already dead, and quite cold; life only seemed to palpitate on his tongue and in his breast, and he could scarcely move any one of his limbs. And, behold, on a sudden, without any help, he sat up by himself, struck together and raised his hands, fixed his eyes on the wall, and bowed towards it with great devotion; and with what strength he might, in his poor broken voice he exclaimed, 'In Thy glory, in Thy goodness, in Thy mercy, take me, take me. In Thy glory, in Thy glory; in Thy goodness, in Thy goodness; in Thy mercy, take me, take me, take me.' He sat upright, and went over the same words several times, and then lay down on his bed again; and twice over he went through the same actions and words. The last time he lay down, he seemed to be in great astonishment and admiration. I asked the question, and said to him, 'Brother Lubert, what is it? How fare you?' He replied, as it were in great astonishment, 'Wonders, wonders; admirable things, admirable things; great and admirable things I saw when I sat up!' He added directly, 'Call the brethren, call the brethren.' As soon as they were called, he passed through a brief agony, and happily fell asleep in the LORD, full of virtue and good works, concerning whom GOD be blessed for ever."

15. Henry Brune and Gerard of Zutphen were two Henry Brune, &c. of the most zealous of the early labourers in the same work. Amilius de Buren has been honoured with a

CHAP. II. short memoir by Thomas à Kempis: it was he who attended Lubert ten Bosche on his death-bed, and who afterwards succeeded Florentius in his government of the House of Deventer. He held that office more than four years, and departed this life in 1404. One of those who exercised the greatest influence at Deventer was John Kettel, the cook. He had been a merchant, and would never take upon himself any higher office than that to which he was at first appointed. He also died of the plague in 1398, and was attended by brother Amilius on his death-bed.

Nature of
the Insti-
tute.

16. Having thus commemorated the principal fellow-labourers of Geert Groote, I will give a brief sketch of the nature of his Institute. His disciples were usually known as the Brothers of the Common Life, or of Good Will; sometimes as *Fraterheeren*, Devoted Clerks, Collationary Brothers; occasionally as Hieronymians, or Gregorians, from their great veneration for those saints, and the frequent dedication of their houses to them. The association was entirely voluntary; none of the brothers were bound by a vow; and yet none were ever known, having put their hand to the plough, to turn again to the world. Each house consisted of four or more priests, twice as many clerks, and a few laymen. The head was called indifferently Ruler, Prior, or Provost. Next to him were the Vice-Ruler and Procurator, whose business lay in the management of the worldly affairs of the house. As the brothers were so much occupied in transcription, among the other functionaries of their establishment appear the *rubricator*, *ligator*, and *scripturarius*. One or other of the principal houses was chosen for the yearly "colloquy." At first, it was the parent institution at Deventer; after the death of Florentius Radewijns, the high reputation of Diderick van Herxen caused Zwolle to be chosen for the place of meeting. Later,

Names.

we find the annual assembly in other places, as in CHAP. II. 1500 at Groningen, in 1560 at Bois-le-duc, in 1561 at Emmerik. In the middle of the fifteenth century, the three leading houses were Deventer, Zwolle, and Hieronymusberg at Halten. The German brotherhoods formed a separate union, under Münster first, and afterwards under Emmerik. While by no means neglecting manual labour, the Brothers of the Common Life were emphatically and mainly an order devoted to instruction and to the propagation of learning.

17. Before the death of Florentius, they numbered Thomas à Kempis : seventeen collegiate churches in the Netherlands ; of which, next to Windesheim, the most famous was Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwolle. Here it was that, in 1400, Thomas à Kempis was transferred ; his brother John being then first Prior of that newly-established House. Here, for seventy years, he occupied himself in all the exercises of a pious monk ; and more especially in the transcription of books. A Bible of his writing is still extant, in four volumes, folio ; begun in 1417, and finished in 1459. The epigraph is, “ Finished and completed by the hands of brother Thomas à Kempis.” The same words may be seen in a Missal, which he completed in 1414. It is beyond my design to enter at length into the question, whether the “ Imitation” has been rightly ascribed to him ; that work which, next to the Holy Scriptures, has probably been read more widely than any other in the Western Church,—and which has, it is said, gone through as many editions as there have been months since it first appeared. It is now, however, almost a settled point among ecclesiastical scholars, that Thomas not the author of the “ Imitation,” was not its author. The arguments against his claims are briefly these :—

CHAP. II.

1. The simple fact, that the only reason for ascribing it to him consists in the epigraph, "Finished and completed in the year of our Lord 1441, by the hands of brother Thomas à Kempis, of the monastery of Mount Saint Agnes, near Zwolle." The same reason might make him author of the Bible itself.

2. The account given by his contemporaries that, in writing the "Imitation," Thomas employed the most ancient MSS. he could find.

3. The fact that, in the very rare *editio princeps* of the works of Thomas, printed by Keteleer about 1475, and edited by the brothers of his own order, the "*Imitation*" is not to be found.

4. Nor is it to be found in any Dutch edition for fifty years after.

5. It is said in Holland—and the assertion has never been contradicted—that M. Van Vree, President of the college at Warmond, has fragments of the "Imitation" in Flemish, written in the fourteenth century.

6. Anyone who will study the undoubted works of Thomas—"The Valley of Lilies," "The Book of the Three Tabernacles," "The Sermons to the Novices,"—will be morally convinced that he did not write the "Imitation." The style is as different as is that of S. Bernard from S. Augustine. And the quotations he makes from the "Imitation" prove the same thing. Who ever thus quoted his own works? Nor do we ask the reader to take this assertion on our credit only; though we make it without the least hesitation. M. Kamper, who lately published a translation of the undoubted works of Thomas, gives it as his settled opinion, that *either* these, *or* the "Imitation," are not from his pen. M. Holtropp, of the Hague, has published a most convincing pamphlet on the subject.

The only modern ecclesiastical scholar of eminence who supports the opposite side is, we believe, the present excellent Bishop of Bruges; and he writes with a warmth which betrays a secret mistrust of his cause. The reader who wishes to become acquainted with the sum and substance of all that can be said on the question is referred to the eleventh volume of Dupin's *Bibliothèque*, and to Gregory's *Histoire du Livre de l'Imitation de Jésus Christ*. After all, a far more edifying point of consideration than that of its authorship, is the comfort and blessing which, for nearly four hundred years, the "Imitation" has been to every Christian nation. Thus, the countless German, French, and Italian translations, the frequent English reprints, are known to everyone. The Spaniard reads it in the venerable Luis de Grenada's version,—the best of all; the Bohemian, in Balthazar Osthowne's; the Hungarian, in Peter Pazmany's; while the Turkish, the Arabian, and the modern Greek have their respective translations.

18. With the death of Thomas, the learned generation may be said to have commenced. Overysse and Guelderland were undoubtedly, at the epoch of the invention of printing, the most learned countries in Europe; and the first leading colleges were at Deventer, Zutphen, Zwolle, and Kampen. The Cardinal Cusa and Pope Hadrian VI. owed their erudition to these institutions; and in 1476 a young lad named Gerard was received at Deventer, who afterwards became known to all the literary world as Desiderius Erasmus. From these, as from a centre, radiated schools into every part of north-western Europe. Rodolph Lang established that of Münster; Louis Dingenberg that of Schelstadt: here he had for pupils, Murrho (founder of the college at Colmar), Wimphe-

Scholars
formed by
the Bro-
thers of
the Com-
mon Life.

CHAP. II. ling, and Simler, the master of Melanchthon. Rodolph Agricola was the master of Beatus Rhenanus, the first editor of Tertullian, and one of the most eminent scholars of the fifteenth century.

Employ-
ment of
printing
by the
Brothers.

19. Such an order naturally seized with avidity the invention of printing. The wooden blocks of Laurence Jansz, commonly called Coster, at Haarlem, may have familiarized them with the idea before John Gutemberg invented his movable metallic types at Mayence. Certain it is, however, that among the most valuable volumes to be found in the *incunabula* of German libraries, the Canons of Windesheim have their full share. In 1474, those of Val Sainte Marie, near Mayence, printed a psalter and a breviary; and those of S. Michael, at Rostock, the *editio princeps* of Lactantius; in 1476, those of Nazareth, at Brussels, the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*—the first work printed in that city.

It may be truly said that the stimulus to the revival of ecclesiastical learning came from Windesheim, as that to profane learning from Rome. And it should be a humbling thought for educated, wealthy, intellectual Holland that, in her Catholic times, the north-eastern provinces were immeasurably superior to their present condition in that mental culture which Protestantism is usually supposed to foster.

The six
families of
the insti-
tute.

20. The institute, in the course of years, developed itself into six different families. The first was the Belgian, of which the House of S. Gregory, at Deventer, was considered the head. Another of its most celebrated houses was that at Zwolle; where, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Diderik Van Herxen attained a degree of celebrity equal to that of Florentius: it was famous also for the teaching and reputation of Gerard Van Kalkar, another of the early bro-

thers. At Amersfoort, at Groningen, at Harderwyck, CHAP. II.
at Utrecht itself, and at Liége, there were celebrated
houses. At Louvain, their printing-press sent forth
a great number of the early books of the Low Coun-
tries.

The second family was the German, which, how-
ever, acquired less reputation, and became afterwards
in some degree connected with the outbreak of the
Reformation. "Would," said Luther, in 1534, of
that at Herford, "that all monasteries would teach
and hold the Word of God as earnestly as this."

The third family was the Italian, which also was
not one of the most illustrious. It had houses at
Venice, Padua, Rimini, Rome, and other places. That
at Rimini strenuously resisted the imposition of vows,
when accepted by almost all the other houses; and,
when compelled by Pius V. to take them, did it under
protest that they were taken by mere compulsion.

The fourth family was the Portuguese. This did
not contain many houses, but those which existed
held a high reputation for good order and sanctity.
That at Coimbra persisted to the end in its rejection
of vows; and it is said that, during the whole course
of its existence, scarcely one or two of the brothers
forsook it. The fifth and sixth were the Sicilian and
the Genoese.

21. The Brothers of the Common Life were, as
may be seen from the above, a chiefly local insti-
tution. It was not long before the non-existence of
vows was brought forward as derogatory to the sanc-
tity, and likely to peril the stability, of the order. It
is not wonderful, therefore, that the House of Canons
Regular at Windesheim, which had acquired great
reputation both for learning and piety, should have
attracted to itself the Dutch institution, and tended

Its union
with the
Canons of
Windes-
heim.

CHAP. II. in some degree to remodel it. In the middle of the fifteenth century a union took place between the two, and thenceforward the earlier appellation of Brothers of the Common Life was generally lost in that of Canons Regular of Windesheim.

The congregation of Windesheim had a golden age of about one hundred years. After 1500 we hear little of it. Swept out of Holland by the whirlwind of the Reformation, it had not the vitality to propagate itself in the neighbouring countries. Though it continued to exist, it did not continue to spread, and became, as it were, a mere fragment in the institute of Canons Regular. In this respect, the well-defined existence which the Béguines have kept up is not a little remarkable; and the wisdom of Geert Groote in avoiding any close assimilation to, or amalgamation with, the Canons Regular will, perhaps, be acknowledged.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF HOLLAND IN THE REFORMATION.

1. WE have already seen that the vast extent of the CHAP. III. diocese of Utrecht and the adjacent bishoprics had Need of further bishoprics. been a subject of scandal for centuries. In vain it was attempted to supply the want of episcopal superintendence by that network of collegiate churches which ramified throughout the country. The magnificent buildings and lordly establishments of Haarlem, Deventer, Oldenzaal, Gouda, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and other places, had produced, as we have seen, a set of ecclesiastics who, by their luxury, want of learning, and too often dissolute lives, promised but a feeble defence against the wave of the Reformation, as it rolled onwards from Germany. The third generation of the Brothers of the Common Life had passed away, and Geert Groote's prophecy was in part fulfilled. They and their disciples maintained, at all events, their reputation for learning. But learning alone, without devotion, was but a feeble barrier against the now inevitable assault.

2. Philip the Second, on assuming the crowns of Spain and Germany, lost no time in soliciting from the Papal See an increase of bishoprics. Many of the most populous cities in the Low Countries were important enough to demand the separate supervision of a bishop. If none of them were fully equal to Ghent, which at that time was the most populous town in Europe, at all events Rotterdam, Bruges,

CHAP. III. Louvain, Antwerp, and others, stood in the very first class. Paul IV., who at that time filled the chair of S. Peter, saw the necessity of the work, and carried it out in his Bull *Super Universas*, (May 12th, 1559,) with less delay than the court of Rome was accustomed to interpose. Annulling in so far as was necessary the metropolitan jurisdiction of Rheims and Cologne, and the territorial extent of Münster, Osnaburg, Paderborn, and other dioceses, he erected fourteen new sees, and re-constituted others in the following manner:—Utrecht and Cambray, then bishoprics, he raised to archiepiscopal rank; the noble church of S. Rumbold at Mechlin, then merely collegiate, he raised not only to archiepiscopal, but to metropolitanical dignity. To Utrecht he assigned the following suffragans, all of them new sees:—Haarlem, Deventer, Groningen, Leeuwarden, and Middelburg. To Cambray—Arras and Tournay, old sees; and Namur and S. Omer, new ones. To Mechlin—Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Bois-le-Duc, and Roermond, all new. Thus the reticulation of these important provinces by an episcopate was complete; but, unhappily, in the then juncture of political circumstances, a measure which, if taken fifty years sooner, would probably have saved the Church of Holland, now only hastened its downfall.

Ins'titution
of fourteen.

3. For difficulties ensued; the imperial treasury was found too poor to furnish a due maintenance to the new prelates, and in a disastrous hour, Granvelle, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, a worldly and ambitious man, proposed their dotation out of the revenues of some of the largest abbeys. The measure was long and vehemently opposed; the opinions of universities and doctors were demanded as to the legitimacy of such secularization: Paul IV. was against it;

Objections
to the
manner in
which the
measure
was carried
out.

Pius V. declared his private opinion opposed to it; CHAP. III. but worldly policy carried the day. The religious movement had already broken out; armies of *Gueux* were already ravaging Flanders; Paul IV. issued a Bull for the suppression or union of the abbeys in question; Granvelle was triumphant. He had his reward; he became Abbat of Afflighem, Archbishop of Mechlin, Primate of Belgium; and he ruined the Catholic cause in the Low Countries. The free abbeys were great national institutions; they were crushed, at a religious crisis, by the very power that ought to have upheld them; their *prestige* did not pass to the new bishops, and all was lost ^a.

4. The magistrates of the several cities raised to the episcopal dignity, already leavened with the reformed doctrines, saw in the new prelates a royal device to supply the court of Spain with government officials and dignified spies. "By a wily system of bribery," writes an historian of the event, "the subserviency of the abbeys was also aimed at. The new prelates, on a pretended principle of economy, were endowed with the title of abbats of the chief monasteries of their respective dioceses ^b. Thus, not only would they enjoy the immense wealth of these establishments, but the political rights of the abbats whom they were to succeed."

5. Frederick Schenk, Baron of Tautenberg, was raised to the see of Utrecht. He is by some reckoned its second, by others its third, archbishop; the former computation excluding, the latter including, S. Boniface. In the following pages, as by Van Heussen, he will be reckoned as *second*. He was a man of some

Opposition
to the
new bi-
shops.

Schenk,
Abp. of
Utrecht.

^a In relating these events, D. Pitra gives another example that Ultramontanes can denounce Papal acts as freely as Gallicans can, when they disapprove them. — *Hollande Catholique*, p. 213.

^b Grattan, Hist., p. 92.

CHAP. III. what stern, perhaps slightly overbearing, character; now in the 59th year of his age, and not forgetful of his patrician rank. He had been the non-resident rector of the rich parochial church of Rhynsberg, dependent on the celebrated convent of that name: by a document bearing date Sept. 1543, he agrees to leave to the abbess the nomination of his curate. He was also Dean of the collegiate church of Oldenzaal, and of that of S. Peter at Utrecht. His father had rendered essential service to Charles V. in his expedition into Friesland, and the archiepiscopal dignity of his son was no doubt his reward. At the same time the new prelate had borne a high character for worth, and was, for the time, a hard-working dignitary.

Nicolas
Nieulant,
Bishop of
Haarlem.

6. The see of Haarlem was filled by Nicolas Nieulant, formerly Dean of S. Mary's at Utrecht, but then Bishop of Hebron *in partibus*, and coadjutor to George of Egmont, Bishop of Utrecht; a pleasant-looking, somewhat easily-living man,—but destined to meet with troubles from the first. The abbey of Egmont, one of the first in Holland, was assigned for his income; the monks rose against the arrangement, and it needed a strong letter from the Regent Margaret to overcome their obstinacy. A graphic account of the Bishop's reception at Haarlem is given by Cornelius Museus, afterwards a martyr, in a letter to a friend^c: how forty horsemen and six carriages came to meet him; how the senate and clergy received him; how the boys of the city school sang before him a parody on a sequence composed for the occasion; how the “trumpets sounded, not with that terrific and bellicose *taratantara*, but with the joyous and gratulatory *euge* of peace;” and how the prelate chose as

^c Hist. Episcop. F. B.: Haarlem, p. 19.

his motto—*Nemo expers hostis*; the initials repre- CHAP. III.
 senting those of his names, *Nicolas Episcopus Harlemensis*. He began by a diligent inspection of his large diocese, which contained the whole of North Holland; and, besides Amsterdam, such towns as Horn, Alkmaar, and Enkhuizen. A diocesan council in 1564 attested the industry of the Bishop. It evinces a fearfully corrupted state of things in the Church; while the mockery of sinners, and the anathemas pronounced against the profaners or blasphemers of Sacraments, shew the progress of Calvinism, both threatening and opposed. The Utrecht breviary and missal are enjoined, but a correction of some of the older legends of the former is promised. Of the fifty-two festivals of obligation, one is singular,—the Feast of S. David, King and Prophet^d. But the troubles of the Reformation soon began. One Arnoldsen, a basket-maker, preached the first Calvinistic sermon on the sand-hills at Overveen, near Haarlem, on a Sunday in the summer of 1566. The Bishop's authority was insecure and unconfirmed; the Catholics were indifferent or opposed; he himself was incapacitated by the gout; and after a stormy, but not useless, episcopate of eight years, he resigned his see.

7. In Overijssel, the opposition to the erection of the new see was excessively vehement. John Mahu- John Mahusius, Bishop of Deventer.
 sius, a Franciscan, was appointed to the see of Deventer, an excellent man and a first-rate preacher. But, unhappily, he was afflicted with the dropsy, and shortly found it his duty to resign his newly acquired dignity. At Leeuwarden, the first bishop was Re- Remigius Dirutius, Bishop of Leeuwarden.
 migius Dirutius; he had been Provost of S. Mary at

^d These statutes were printed at the time, and are reprinted in the Bat. Sacr., pp. 294—310.

CHAP. III. Bruges, and was an able man; but, tempted by the quieter and more dignified episcopate of his native city, he resigned that of Friesland before consecration. Groningen was more fortunate in its first bishop, John Knyff, whose urbanity and gentleness causes him to be mentioned even by Calvinistic writers in terms of the highest praise; and who laboured by word and example for ten long and eventful years in his Church. Nicolas a Castro, Professor of the College of the Falcon at Louvain, was first Bishop of Middelburg; he died of dysentery in its siege by the Prince of Orange, and thus probably escaped being called to a cruel martyrdom.

John
Knyff,
first Bi-
sho, of
Gronin-
gen.

Nicolas a
Castro, Bi-
shop of
Middel-
burg.

First
Council
of Utrecht.

8. Archbishop Schenk, as soon as circumstances permitted, resolved on convoking a provincial council at Utrecht. The first session was held in that city on Oct. 12, 1565. The first suffragans of Utrecht, some of them not yet consecrated, were present; so was also Lindanus, Bishop of Roermonde, not as a suffragan, but as holding the deanery of the Hague. In this session matters of business only were transacted, procurations shewn, and letters patent exhibited. In the next, it was agreed that the Canons of the Council of Trent should be formally received, and read on the following days, in both Latin and the vernacular language, in the choir of the cathedral. The next sessions were occupied in this public reading; but in the meantime a list of *gravamina*, arising from the pure and simple acceptance of the Tridentine decrees, were presented by the archdeacons, dignitaries, and canons of the Five Chapters, and a demand made for certain explanations and interpretations. In the seventh session (Oct. 22), the prelates refused any "alteration, interpretation, or moderation" of the Canons in question, and demanded their simple acceptance.

Van den Vecht, the Dean, speaking in the name of the Chapters, declared their readiness to receive those decrees of the council which concerned either the faith or the reformation of manners; but there were other decrees which were concerned in the matter, and which affected their capitular rights. They insisted on a vote for the members of the second order in such a matter; especially as the Bishops of Leeuwarden and Deventer, not yet consecrated, sat and voted among the prelates. A compromise was subsequently effected, the Archbishop engaging to preserve intact such rights of the Chapters, if they existed, and the canons solemnly accepting the decrees of the council, *salvis* their own liberties and immunities. This concordat was completed in the 11th and last session (Oct. 10), when the synodal statutes were all read and approved. They contain little that is remarkable, though one or two of them shew the fearful laxity which had crept into the religious houses^e.

9. With the establishment of the Inquisition in 1565, the Revolution may be said to have really commenced. On the 10th of February in the following year, the first confederation for the defence of the liberties and rights of the States was signed at Brussels; a confederation no further religious than in so far as its main aim was to put down the Inquisition. It is not my purpose to relate the history of that fearful revolution; characterised by cruelty on both sides scarcely elsewhere to be found in the annals of the human race. It is probable that the palm of barbarity—it is certain that that of duplicity—must

Establish-
ment of the
Inquisi-
tion.

^e e.g. *Interdicimus et prohibemus, ne juniores ex clero et nobilitate, sine justâ et urgenti causâ ad monialium cameras vel triclinia accedant, nec interdiu seu noctu potando aut*

alias vanitates exercendo convertantur, sed moniales sinant pensum servitutis suæ in choro persolvere, ac in omnibus regularis ordinariis disciplinam servare.

CHAP. III. be awarded to the Protestants; and yet thousands have heard of the atrocities committed by Alva and Vargas, who know nothing of the still greater cruelties exercised by a Lumey or a Maris Brand.

Outbreak
of the Re-
volution.

10. It may be necessary to remind the reader of the leading facts of the war that occurred during the episcopacy of Schenk. The declarations of the council of Margaret of Pavia, Governante of the Low Countries, that she had nothing to fear from such a band of beggars (*Gueux*), suggested the name, the wooden bowl, and the wallet which the confederacy adopted as its mark. The Reformers exerted themselves. Field-preaching (alas! how different from that of Geert Groote and his fellows!) spread through the country. By degrees, the most infamous excesses were perpetrated by bands of prowling ruffians, instigated, however, secretly, by William of Orange, Louis of Nassau, and Henry de Brederode, the Calvinist leaders. The cathedrals of Antwerp, Ghent, Mechlin, and Tournay were utterly gutted; four hundred other churches suffered in a greater or less degree; it seemed as if a host of demons had been let loose over the country. The lords of the Confederation fell upon their too zealous followers, and hanged or beheaded many of them; and for a brief space tranquillity was restored. The Confederacy was dissolved. William of Orange, with the prudent consideration for his own safety which ever distinguished him, retired into Germany. The Duke of Alva began his terrible march. The Council of Blood was instituted; Counts Egmont and Hoorn perished by its decree; and their execution was the signal for a final effort of the Calvinist party. The Prince of Orange raised an army in Germany, reinforced by our own Elizabeth and French Huguenots. The battle of Heiligerlee declared for the insur-

gents ; that of Jemminghem more than compensated to the Royalists ; and for two or three years Alva enjoyed an almost uninterrupted triumph. But in 1573, through the ferocity of the infamous De la Marck, who captured Briel by surprise, the war broke out again. He and Maris Brand sent the nineteen martyrs of Gorcum to their reward. William of Orange entered Brabant at the head of 20,000 men ; and Haarlem—of the inhabitants of which a Protestant historian writes, that they fought, not for Protestantism, but for their pockets—rose as one man. Then followed the terrible siege of Haarlem, its capitulation, the dreadful vengeance taken on its inhabitants, the capture of the Hague, and the repulse of the Spaniards from Alkmaar. Alva was replaced by Requesens. The victory of Mookerheyde again gave courage to the Royalists ; but their repulse from Leyden rendered Philip willing to enter into negotiations. These proved fruitless ; and the death of Requesens and the pacification of Ghent, which bound the revolted provinces more closely to each other, rendered more vigorous measures needful. Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, was appointed governor ; and after his death—it is supposed by poison—the Prince, afterwards the Duke, of Parma, succeeded. An attempt was made to mediate between the two parties by the Emperor Rodolph II. and Pope Gregory XIII. ; after a year's negotiations, it was fruitless. Finally, in the eventful year 1580, the States General renounced for ever the authority of Spain, and proclaimed the Seven United Provinces free and independent.

11. I have said that, while the palm of superior cruelty may fairly be divided between the two parties, that of duplicity must rest with the Protestants. At

CHAP. III.

All pledges of toleration to Catholics broken.

CHAP. III. the commencement of the Revolution, the Prince of Orange had declared to the Governante of the Low Countries, that the only design of the nobility was to preserve the Catholic religion in its purity. When Utrecht, in the year 1566, entered the Union, the edict of the Prince declared that the churches, monasteries, and hospitals of the ancient religion should be sacred ; the pretended reformed being only allowed to preach or to hold assemblies in two places, granted to them for that purpose, without the city. The case was the same in 1572 at Dort. In the same year, the Prince of Orange, in the camp before Roermonde, issued a placard which expressly forbid any violence against the professors of the Roman Catholic faith. In the declaration of Ghent, (1576,) the United Provinces proclaimed liberty of religion ; the Prince of Orange swore to that declaration ; yet in the same year he only obtained the support of the ministers assembled at Dort, by promising to persecute to the uttermost all Roman Catholics. And this is the man whom Protestant historians hold up as a perfect model of virtue to mankind ! In the next year (Jan. 9), the Union of Brussels declares that it is made “ for the preservation of our holy faith and the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion,—for the expulsion of the Spaniards,—for the maintenance of our rights.” Yet the same year, at Haarlem, on the 29th of May, the Feast of Corpus Christi, while the vast congregation was assembled at nones, a band of Protestants fell in upon them, massacring all those who did not save themselves by flight. When so much is said of the Massacre of S. Bartholomew, are we never to remember the Nones of Haarlem ? It is true, the Prince of Orange disavowed this atrocity ; yet in the same year he advised the inhabitants of Briel, in spite

of all his oaths, to proscribe the exercises of the CHAP. III.
Catholic religion. About the same period he married Catherine of Bourbon, ex-abbess of Jouarre; her miserable life was a fit recompense for her double apostacy. In the next year he only obtained possession of Overijssel and Guelderland by swearing to maintain all the rights and privileges of the Catholics inviolate; the case was the same at Amsterdam; and in the Union of Utrecht, (June 15, 1579,) the Protestants were permitted the free exercise of their religion in four churches of that city; but in all other places, *whether secretly or openly*, they were forbidden to exercise it.

12. Yet on the 14th of June in the following year the magistrates published a placard by which the exercise of the Catholic religion was entirely interdicted. This was too much for the not over-scrupulous conscience of William of Orange. "Let this be the last of the perjuries," he said, "which you have committed to the offence of God and the dishonour of your religion." Public profession of the Catholic faith forbidden.

13. A curious coincidence in a passage of the Maccabees had induced certain divines to foresee the commencement of these troubles at Utrecht in 1566:

"SANCTA TUA CONCULCATA SUNT ET CONTAMINATA;"

and now it was in vain that the Canons of the Five Churches publicly protested against the violation of all former stipulations. From that time the health of Schenk, now an old man, declined. The words of Mattathias were in his mouth,—“Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was deli- Death of Schenk.

CHAP. III. vered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?" He departed this life on the 25th of August, 1580, and was buried by the door of the sacristy in his own cathedral, where his tomb may still be seen.

Successions
in the suf-
fragan
sees.

14. It is necessary to say one word with respect to the other sees. At Haarlem, on the resignation of Nicolas Nieulant, Godfrey de Mierlo had been appointed his successor. He governed his flock with great zeal for about eight years; then, on the capture of Haarlem by the Calvinists, he retired to Bonn, where he died in 1587. He had no successor, till (as we shall see in the course of this history) after the lapse of 164 years. At Deventer, John Mahusius was succeeded by Giles de Monte, who died in his own diocese in 1577. The Chapter continued to nominate Grand-vicars, after having removed to Oldenzaal, till 1665, when Lewis Brunsius, its last Dean, departed this life. At Leeuwarden, Remigius Dirutius, whom I have already mentioned, was succeeded by Cunerus Petersen^f; he exercised considerable authority in his diocese, convoked a diocesan synod, and created a Chapter. After the religious revolution he was thrown into prison, and finally died at Cologne in 1580. At Groningen, after the death of John Knyff, and the nomination of John Bruhezen, (of whom more in the sequel,) Arnold Nylen, a Dominican, was consecrated to the vacant see. He remained in his city till its capture by the Calvinists in 1594, when he retired to Brussels, where he died. At Middelburg, John Van Stryen succeeded, in 1581. At the capture of that place by the Prince of Orange

^f This was Cunerus Petersen de Brouwershaven, a prelate who had distinguished himself by his writ-

ings in the life and death struggle of the Church of Holland. See a list of them in H. E. II., Leo 40.

he retired, first to Cologne, then to Roermonde, then CHAP. III.
to Louvain, and from the latter place he governed
the remains of the afflicted Church of Holland, and,
as the only survivor of its six Bishops, ordained
priests for its persecuted dioceses, till his death in
1594.

We are now at liberty to follow the fortunes of the
Church of Utrecht.

CHAPTER IV.

VACANCY OF THE SEE, 1580—1602.

SASBOLD VOSMEER,

SECOND ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT, UNDER THE TITLE OF ARCHBISHOP OF
PHILIPPI. 1602—1614.

CHAP. III.

Confusion
in the
Church of
Holland.

Dec. 31,
1580.

1. ON the death of Schenk, the affairs of his province were in the wildest confusion. His suffragans were in vain endeavouring to collect some scattered remains of their flocks. Mierlo, Bishop of Haarlem, was in exile; Deventer was governed by a Grand-vicar^a; at Leeuwarden the Bishop was deceased and the Chapter had fled; Nylen feebly maintained himself at Groningen; Stryen, a man of great talents and energy, was administering, as Grand-vicar, the diocese of Middelburg, to which he was afterwards consecrated. The sovereignty of Holland had been offered to the Duke of Alençon, and by him been accepted. Henry III. of France had engaged to assist his brother, and the Treaty of Delft had ratified the act; Philip of Spain had offered a reward of 25,000 crowns, a patent of nobility, and immunity for all past crimes, to the assassinator of the Prince of Orange. The complication of religion and politics, the wide-spread defection of Catholics, and the fierce placards of Protestant rulers, then in the first glow of their triumph, rendered a man of eminent piety and talents necessary for the government of the Church of Holland.

2. It had been ordered by the Council of Trent,

^a Hist. Ep. Davent. 21.

that, on the vacancy of a see the Chapter should, CHAP. IV.
 within eight days, nominate a Grand-vicar. But, by The Chap-
 ter names
 a Grand-
 Vicar,
 the peculiar statutes of the Church of Utrecht, it was
 arranged that, on the death of the Bishop, the Dean
 of the cathedral should, *ex officio*, assume the vicariate,
 —a law which had sometimes, however, been contested
 by the four other Chapters. John de Bruhezen^b,
 Dean of S. Martin's, was therefore named Vicar; he
 was now in exile at Cologne, for having, in his capacity
 of President of the States, refused to put the question
 that William of Orange should be requested to assume
 the Government. "A man," said he, "who has been
 false to his God will never prove true to his country."
 This absence, however honourable to De Bruhezen,
 proving prejudicial to the Catholic interest, he ap-
 pointed as his official, with nearly all the powers that
 he himself possessed, SASBOLD VOSMEER, whose name who ap-
 points Sas-
 bold Vos-
 meer his
 official.
 is ever to be had in veneration by the Church of
 Holland. Born at Delft, of noble parents^c, in 1558,
 he had studied first at Naeldwyck, and then at Lou-
 vain, till recalled to take orders in the metropolitical
 cathedral of his native country. He then became
 Dean of the collegiate church of S. Mary's at the
 Hague; and thenceforward gave so many eminent
 proofs both of learning and ability that his nomina-
 tion was hailed with general applause.

3. It would appear that De Bruhezen, though he
 retained the deanery till his death in 1600, exercised
 less and less frequently his functions as Grand-vicar,
 till, in 1583, Vosmeer was elected by the Chapters Sasbold
 Vosmeer
 Grand-
 vicar.
 to that office. Their own very peculiar state rendered

^b All the account of De Bruhezen's proceedings is given at length, but not very clearly, in Tract. Hist. i. 1—10.

^c From his father's name, Michael, he frequently adopted the signature

of Sasbout Michaelsen; and so, in the archives of S. Gertrude, he sometimes signs himself *S. Mich. Archps.* His *nom-de-guerre*, in letters where it would have been perilous to speak more plainly, is *Bonifacius*.

CHAP. IV. a resident superior absolutely necessary to their existence. As I shall have occasion hereafter to state at greater length, the Chapters had neither been suppressed, nor had the Catholic canons been deprived, at the Reformation. The States interfered to a certain extent, and intruded nominees of their own, gradually protestantizing the body, and dispensing with the requisite of holy orders. The mongrel condition of the corporation is curiously illustrated in a placard issued by Monzyna^d, Catholic Dean of S. John's, and as such, Lord of Mydrecht^e, in 1590. The inhabitants are ordered to attend church on Sundays, and wherever else there is a sermon, on pain of forfeiting three Caroluses; and any one who blasphemes God or His service, is to have his tongue pierced with a red-hot iron. The Dean, one should think, would have found himself in an uncomfortable position, had a Catholic been brought before him on the charge of having spoken against the Reformed worship. So, while some of the convents were permitted to exist, the States confirmed the Abbess whom the sisters elected^f.

Peculiar
condition
of the
Chapter.

1585.

4. "The harvest," to use Vosmeer's own quotation, "was great; the labourers few." The ferocity with which the war raged rendered the position of Catholics precarious in the extreme; and when the battle of the Dyke of Couvestein threw Antwerp into the hands of the Spaniards, and the fabric of the United Provinces seemed tottering to its base, fresh placards were issued against the professors of the old religion, and the persecution became exceedingly hot. The residence of the Earl of Leicester at Utrecht ne-

^d This document is given in Tract. Hist. i. 26.

^e Mydrecht is a pretty village about five leagues from Utrecht to the west. They still shew the site of the *Proos-*

tenhuis, the official residence of the Dean of S. John's.

^f See an example in Tract. Hist. i. 13.

cessarily excited the populace, and Sasbold was more CHAP. IV.
 than once in danger of his life. The placard put forth
 at Utrecht, July 11, 1588, forbade all secret exercise
 of the Roman Catholic religion; a second offence, on
 the part of ecclesiastics, subjected them to perpetual
 imprisonment. That published in the succeeding year,
 by the States of Holland and West Friesland, banished
 all ecclesiastics, and made their return a capital crime.
 These difficulties and dangers shewed that a Church
 so perilled could not safely be left without a vigilant
 pastor, who could act in his own name, and not by
 delegated rights. The Count de Renenberg was first
 nominated; but, more anxious for the situation and
 emoluments when Spanish arms should again prevail,
 than for the privation and labours of a missionary
 bishop, he was neither confirmed by the Roman See
 nor consecrated at his death in 1592. John de Bru-
 hezen was next elected, but he died also before con-
 secration. While he yet lived, a proposition was
 made that Sasbold should be raised to the See of
 Haarlem; but the Jesuits opposed the scheme with
 such warmth that it fell to the ground. And here
 we find the first instance of their inveterate hatred to
 the Church of Holland. Two of the Society had
 entered that country in 1592, and their numbers
 rapidly increased.

Difficulties
 in the
 choice of
 an Arch-
 bishop.

5. Sasbold had been made Vicar-apostolic through Sasbold
 the United Provinces in 1592^g, but he never ceased Vosmeer,
 to urge the re-establishment of the Archiepiscopate of Vicar-
Apostolic.
 Utrecht, representing to the Pope and to the Arch-
 duke Albert, that no effectual progress could be made
 without a national bishop. In the meanwhile the
 clergy were diminishing; six hundred existed after
 the "abolition" of the Catholic religion; but the

^g This date is strongly disputed. Hist. v. 242; and Batav. Sac. ii. 47.
 Compare Bellegarde, p. 82; Tract.

CHAP. IV. ensuing thirty years reduced them to one hundred and seventy. It was this declining state of the Church, and the pressing invitation of the Archduke, which determined him on paying a visit to Brussels in the autumn of 1598. He here employed all his eloquence to procure an episcopate; the nuncio was favourable to his views; "though I dare not," said he, "openly support them, for I have no mind to give the Jesuits a handle for calling me a *Sasboutian*."

The letters^b and diaries of Sasbold are full of bitter complaints against them; and, having met with but little success at Brussels, he determined on visiting Rome in person, and imploring the assistance of the Pope.

Negotiations for the Arch-bishopric.

6. While meditating this journey he was seized with an illness which bore every appearance of poison. He himself constantly attributed it to his opponents; and some of their subsequent proceedings render the accusation by no means incredible. The Archduke Albert was extremely anxious that Sasbold should be raised to the archiepiscopate, and his brother Tilman to the see of Haarlem. He declined the former elevation, but offered to accept the latter, if his brother might be put in possession of the other. This arrangement did not please. Antwerp was next offered to Vosmeer. "No," replied he: "if God absolutely calls me to the episcopate, I had rather govern those among whom I have so long lived, who know me and who love me." On this, the Archduke entered into negotiations with Cardinal Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII.; and the result was a journey undertaken by Sasbold, principally on foot, to Rome. He arrived in that city, April 17ⁱ, 1602.

^b They may be seen at full length in Tract. Hist. v. 80—90.

ⁱ Copious extracts from Sasbold's own letters, with reference to this

journey, are given in Tract. Hist. iii. pp. 17, seq. See also Def. Eccl. Traject., pp. 4, 5.

7. Clement VIII. received him with the courtesy CHAP. IV.
 due to his reputation and his labours, and proposed
 to him to accept the archbishopric of Utrecht. Sasbold in vain represented his age and his broken health,
 and urged the appointment of a younger man. The
 Pope would listen to no objection, and Sasbold was
 consecrated by the Cardinal Bishop of Albano^k, Sep.
 22, 1602. It had been recommended by the Arch-
 duke, and was insisted on by Clement, that the title
 should not be that of Utrecht, in order to avoid un-
 necessary offence; and that of Philippi was accordingly
 substituted in its place. But, as soon as the Arch-
 duke should be willing, Sasbold was to be at liberty
 to assume his genuine title. This point is one of the
 most vital importance in the history of the Church
 of Holland. If Vosmeer were really Archbishop of
 Utrecht under the title of Philippi, her cause stands
 good against the efforts of her enemies; and there-
 fore the Jesuits, and the whole host of Ultramontane
 writers, have always endeavoured to prove that he was
 merely a Vicar-apostolic, with a title *in partibus*.

Sasbold
 Vosmeer
 Archbishop
 of Utrecht,
 under the
 title of
 Arch-
 bishop of
 Philippi.

8. Volumes on volumes have been written in de-
 fence of the Church of Holland, and have trium-
 phantly made good the claim of Vosmeer to the real
 and diocesan archiepiscopate of Utrecht. It will here
 be necessary to give a brief *resumé* of their principal
 arguments, the matter being one of life and death to
 the Church whose history I am writing. The claim,
 then, is proved: 1. By the report which Vosmeer¹
 gives of the negotiations at the time, long before any
 momentous consequences appeared to be attached to

Proofs that
 Vosmeer
 was really
 Arch-
 bishop of
 Utrecht.

^k Simon Tagliavia, Ital. Sacr. 1. 219.

¹ Sasbold's own words, in a letter to Gravius, dated Jan. 6, 1609:

"Nominavit me ovidem Archidux

ad Utreg. Eccles.; et scribit, *Archivescovo de Utreg.*: attamen dedit clausas liberas ad Sacratissimum, qui tempore ordinationis, &c." Tract. Hist. iii. p. 25.

CHAP. IV.

it, which report has never been contradicted. 2. By the fact that the States-General proceeded against him for assuming the title, and exercising the office, of Archbishop of Utrecht ; with an Archbishop of Philippi they would not have concerned themselves. 3. That it was given to him without the least scruple or doubt by his enemies the Jesuits. 4. That he constantly assumed it himself, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with his other title of Philippi. Twenty such examples are given by his apologists. 5. That by the biographers and historians of that time he is constantly so designated. 6. That in official acts of the Archduke he is so characterized. But the question being one of such infinite importance, I have discussed it at length in Appendix II.

Sasbold repairs to Cologne.

9. The manners and habits of the Court of Rome were exceedingly distasteful to the new Archbishop. "To the last day of my sojourn there," he writes to a friend, "I was shocked by the morals of the court, the abandonment of the times, the confusion of truth ; I looked upon honours as burdens, and it was this which impelled me to leave Rome. I remember that I used sometimes to say to my friends, that, born as I was for labour, I shrank from dignity." Of Clement VIII. he writes in a different strain ; he mentions to his faithful and affectionate correspondent, his brother Tilman, a conversation he had held with the Pope respecting the Molinist controversy, then raging, and reports that Clement had said, "I am ready to die in defence of the doctrine of S. Augustine." Six weeks after the Archbishop's consecration, a placard was issued by the States-General, in which they banished him from Holland as guilty of high treason. There seems every reason to believe that the Jesuits had denounced him to the government,

eager, by any means, for ever fully to deprive the Church of its legitimate head. He therefore retired to Cologne, finding that the Bishops of Antwerp and Bois-le-Duc had some objection to his residing within their dioceses. He was also frequently at Lingen, which then formed a part of the king of Spain's dominions ; and while residing in that place, he demanded leave from the Archduke to assume the title of Archbishop of Utrecht, and at the same time requested a pension to enable him to carry on his functions. Both requests were granted. A pension of 500 florins was bestowed ; and Philip de Croy, Governor of Overysse, authorized him, in the Archduke's name, to assume the title that had hitherto been kept, as it were, *in petto*. CHAP. IV.

10. The Jesuits, who were rapidly increasing, were a cause of the most serious uneasiness. Two had arrived in 1592, another came in 1593, a fourth in the following year, and in 1609 there were eight ; and the truce concluded at that date gave them fresh opportunities of multiplying their numbers and spreading their influence. From the very commencement it seems to have been their fixed design to subvert the hierarchy of the Church of Holland ; and it is not wonderful that her defenders should have employed language which, unless all the circumstances are taken into consideration, must appear unreasonably strong. "Where well, none better ; where ill, none worse," is the true description of that famous society ; and the latter clause will be developed to its full extent in the course of this history. "To pay every appearance of deference to Sasbold, and to do what we can for our own freedom^m," was the avowal of one of the Fathers ; nor is it strange that the Prelate should have written

Proceed-
ings of the
Jesuits.

^m Tract. Hist. v. 29.

CHAP. IV. confidentially to his brother: "The inconvenience caused by the Protestants is less than the affliction originated by the Jesuits."

State of
the Church
of Holland.

The Re-
gulars.

11. The apostacy or flight of the religious orders had, at the first outbreak of the Reformation, been almost universal. Out of a hundred and sixteen Houses of Monks or Canons Regular, and fifty of the mendicant orders, the Franciscans alone remained faithful to their missionary work. Many openly apostatized; many married; and, in such a time of distress, those who had not abjured the Catholic religion seemed bent on enriching themselves, to the exclusion of all other aims:—

"It is difficult to say or to believe," wrote Sasbold to Tilman, March 9, 1588, "how much they are vexed with covetousness of worldly wealth, and yet they regard themselves as satisfying their vow of poverty. No long time since, a Dominican, thinking himself dangerously ill, was anxious about the disposal of 400 and more florins, and when the danger was past, he was not ashamed to complain of the difficulty of procuring daily food to those very persons to whom a few days before he had committed this treasure. Another, who had pretended great wants for a long time, entrusted to a person with whom I am acquainted the sum of 1,600 dollars^u."

Similar complaints^o abound in the same series of letters; and it is evident that nothing could be more desperate, nothing more forlorn, than the state of the Regulars towards the close of the sixteenth century. A stringent rescript from the Nuncio at Brussels, Sept. 7, 1588, put a stop to some of these abuses. The secular clergy, though not without some short-

The Secu-
lars.

^u Tract. Hist. v. 20.

^o An account of the early proceedings of the Jesuits may be found in a relation of Sasbold himself,

(Tract. Hist. v. 23,) and in a document written by Peter Purmerend, archpriest of Delphland, annexed to it.

comings and some scandals, remained faithful in a far higher degree, to their office. At Sasbold's accession to the Vicariate, there were, as we have said, about six hundred who continued their pastoral duties. Of these, two hundred resided in or near Utrecht; one hundred at Haarlem; the other large towns had, in some instances, as many as twenty or thirty. Few were to be found in the villages, on account of the difficulty of escaping the vigilance of their persecutors. But the care of a certain district was nevertheless entrusted to some one priest; he paid his pastoral visits from the neighbouring town, and was, in point of fact, the pastor of the parish. In many instances, even during the worst of times, the succession of parish priests was kept up as regularly as before the overthrow of the Church; and the list and dates of their institution have been preserved, and may be seen in the great ecclesiastical works. During Sasbold's administration, seventeen archipresbyteries still existed, six in the diocese of Utrecht, five in that of Haarlem, three in that of Deventer, and one in each of those of Leeuwarden, Groningen, and Middelburg.

12. The Regulars, however, soon commenced a system of the most vexatious interference; for the mendicant orders generally followed the steps of the Jesuits in ignoring parochial rights and the diocesan hierarchy. They established their missions where they could, but, for the greater part, not where heresy was the most rife, but where Catholics were the most abundant. In 1609, these disputes came to a head. The Nuncio at Brussels, Guido, Archbishop of Rhodes, laid a formal complaint before Sasbold of the conduct of the secular priests; the Jesuits, he said, were annoyed and vexed in every possible way; their

Inter-
ference of
the Re-
gulars.

CHAP. IV. ministrations were hindered, their doctrine was rendered odious ; they were scouted as intruders, instead of being welcomed as fellow-labourers in the LORD's Vineyard. "My answer will be easy," replied Sasbold: "but I cannot send it till I have heard from Holland ; I have made all necessary enquiries, and shall soon be in a condition to give the fullest information." The next post from the United Provinces brought a flood of letters for the Archbishop. The tenor of all was the same: "our adversaries are imputing to us the very things of which they themselves are guilty." Stephen Cracht, Pastor at Amsterdam, whose name, after the lapse of two centuries and a-half, is not forgotten in that city, thus writes:—

Jan. 14,
1609.

Defence of
the Clergy.

"This is not the form of brotherly correction which CHRIST ordained. The larger part of that which is objected to our priests, seems to me, if I am to speak the truth, made up of mere calumny. In those matters which have some shadow of reason, a fly is turned into an elephant. There is nothing here which would not be at once amended at the least word of a superior on the spot: there can be no possible occasion to cross the Alps, and to trouble his Holiness, weighed down with the care of all the Churches, about these matters of our own. And how absurd is it to speak of the Society as laying itself out in undertaking all the labour here! This praise is neither due to it nor to me: it is such priests as Sextius, Martinus Regius, and others, who deserve it. In the greater number of particulars which are objected to our priests by the Society, that saying of the apostle's is most true, 'Wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou which judgest doest the same things ^p.'"

Character
of Sibrand
Sextius,

13. Sibrand Sextius well deserved the character which is here given him. He was Vicar-general of Haarlem, Groningen, and Leeuwarden, and chaplain to the Bé-

^p Tract. Hist. v. 136.

guines at Amsterdam. Being a native of Friesland, CHAP. IV. his labours were more abundant in that province ; and it is recorded of him that, without intermitting his toils by day, he once preached on twenty-eight nights in succession, to such auditories as could be gathered together in the violence of the persecution. Worn out with his labours, he died the death of the righteous, Jan. 9, 1631^a, and is gratefully commemorated in the Haarlem Necrology. Martinus Regius was even yet more eminent. He laboured in Zealand, by and
Martinus
Regius. the States of which Province he was proscribed. It is related^r that he was once seized near Flushing by a rabble of the lowest mob, who forthwith dragged him to the sea-side, intending to drown him. Without evincing the least alarm, he merely quoted the text, *Through the greatness of Thy power they shall be as still as a stone, till Thy people pass over, O Lord* ; and was, at the very last moment, set free by the interposition of some better-disposed persons. “ If I had five and twenty Martins,” Sasbold used to say, “ Holland should be converted in six months.” “ Martin performs alone,” wrote a Jesuit Father, “ more than a hundred of us.” From these men, and such as these, the Archbishop now heard. “ If the Jesuits,” wrote Sextius, “ would go into the villages, or into the towns where there is no pastor, we should honour them, and bless their labours ; but they only work where we are already successful ; they only sow where we have already sown. They willingly surrender to us the labours and the dangers ; and even now they have forsaken their posts to avoid the plague.” Cornelius Arnoldsen, director of the convent *in den Hoek* at Haarlem, one of the most zealous pastors in Holland, bears similar testimony ; and

^a Bat. Sacr. ii. 403.^r Bat. Sacr. ii. 126.

CHAP. IV. particularizes several intrigues which had come under his own knowledge^a.

14. The reply of the Clergy of Utrecht is very full and satisfactory :—

Sasbold's
corres-
pondence
with the
Inter-
nuncio.

“We,” say they, “have never yet found that the Jesuits go and labour where they find the greatest destitution. Which of them was ever known to attend a case of plague? Which of them is in the habit of going forth and preaching in the villages, and enduring the labour and fasting consequent? The whole people, the whole province, can testify that the parish priests are indefatigable in these things, and make no difference between the rich man’s mansion and the poor man’s cottage. If we have done wrong, we submit ourselves humbly, and are ready to amend. The scar has scarcely begun to heal, and here are new wounds.”

All these replies were forwarded by Sasbold to the Internuncio, and involved him in an abyss of correspondence. We find him writing to Gravius, his agent at Rome, to Cardinal Borghese, and to Florentini, Provincial in the United Provinces; from the latter he received some kind of apology.

Concordat
with the
Jesuits
violated by
them.

15. At length, in March, articles of agreement were drawn up^t and signed, which, though exceedingly favourable to the Jesuits, and invading the province of the Ordinary to an almost unprecedented degree, were soon violated and openly ridiculed by the Society. Finding that all ecclesiastical order was more and more subverted, Sasbold, after months of patient

^a E. g. “Accidit pridem ut Arboreus (one of the most active Jesuits) ex meis [virgunculis] clam me, juvenculam ad se duci curaverit, a qua extorquere omnibus modis nitebatur, ut fateretur inter meas inhonestam disciplinam exerceri; dicens (ignoscat ille Deus tale mendacium!) certo scire se, quod talia fierent; sed confessionem fictam a virgine,

licet juvenculâ, impetrare non potuit. Objeci ego idipsum eidem Arboreo coram Patre Nicolao istic Guardiano, quod in eum modum honestam virginem vexasset. Ad quod respondit, tentandi causâ se fecisse illud.” Tract. Hist. v. 137.

^t They are given in Tract. Hist. v. 161.

waiting, at length, Dec. 16, 1609, published his celebrated Pastoral against the intruding society. It is short, but very much to the point:—

16. “Since the progress of the Church consists in the observation of the sacred canons, and all order is confounded if her pastors are hindered in their office, it is intolerable that certain religious who profess themselves sent for the assistance of the pastors, should not only violate their rights, but should also, at the solicitation of some few persons, presume to ordain fresh priests over those who have been rightly appointed by us, in contempt of us and of the apostolic see, which we represent. We, therefore, desirous to remedy the increasing schism, and to provide, as we may, for the quiet and profit of the faithful, do by the aforesaid apostolic authority, in those places which have their appointed pastors, suspend all seculars and religious, of whatever condition, even mendicants and Jesuits, from all administration of the sacraments, and from preaching the Word of God. And since it is well known that at different times, and in this very year, many have come to these provinces from other parts with an offer of the ministrations of religion, and on that pretext collecting alms from the faithful,—men who called themselves doctors or priests from the mendicant orders or from the Jesuits, although they had taken no degree, and had received no orders,—whence much evil and sacrilege necessarily followed; we, in order that we may betimes provide against such ills and impieties, and against the factions of unjust men, forbid all the faithful committed and entrusted to us, in virtue of holy obedience, and under the penalty of excommunication, and other fitting animadversion, to receive, without the consent of us, or of the pastors constituted by us, or to introduce into ecclesiastical functions, priests coming from other quarters,—or to gather congregations, or in any way make contributions to that end. Paternally admonishing and conjuring them that, mindful of the apostolical doctrine, they submit themselves with pious simplicity to their superiors, and obey them, and rest in their direction; knowing that those who hear them hear CHRIST, and those who

CHAP. IV.

Pastoral of
Sasbold
against the
Jesuits.

CHAP. IV. reject them reject CHRIST, Who hath promised to be with them, even to the end of the world.

“Given from the place of our residence, the 16th day of December, 1609.

“SASBOLD, Archbishop, Vicar-Apostolic.”

Indigna-
tion of the
Jesuits.

17. It was natural that the Jesuits should be enraged by this Pastoral. They denounced the Archbishop to Rome as having, *ipso facto*, incurred excommunication, and demanded that he should be at once declared suspended from his functions. Sasbold was himself spending the winter in Holland, with no small risk; and from hence he wrote to his agent at the Papal court temperately, but firmly, and declared that he neither could nor would retract a syllable that he had said against the Jesuits. Cardinal Mellini replied to Sasbold, informing him that he must revoke his Pastoral, and must consider himself suspended from his vicariate apostolic. Vosmeer returned an elaborate defence. Mellini answered, that his Holiness was satisfied, that the suspension was at an end, but that the Pastoral must be recalled. The Archbishop still refused, and finally the Court of Rome gave way.

Vosmeer
success-
fully de-
fends him-
self.

18. Age and infirmities now beginning to press on Sasbold, he cast his eyes around him with the hope of finding some ecclesiastic who might be consecrated his coadjutor, and might succeed on his own death. It happened that in the year 1605, when Oldenzaal, in Overysse, had been reconquered by the Marquis Spinola, and Sasbold, as charged with the diocese of Deventer, had reconciled the collegiate church of S. Plechelm, he had made choice of Philip Rovenius, then President of the college of S. Willebrord, at Cologne, as a suitable person to resettle the Church in a province which had so long been under Calvinist

Philip
Rovenius,
Dean of
Oldenzaal.

^a This Pastoral is printed in Hist. Episc. Traj. 44.

rule. Rovenius was speedily made Vicar-General of CHAP. IV.
 Deventer; shortly afterwards Canon, and then Dean
 of Oldenzaal. Here he rendered the most essential
 service to Sasbold; and a large collection of letters
 from the dean to the prelate is still preserved in the
 archives of the Church at Utrecht. They shew the
 zeal with which he administered the affairs of the
 diocese, and the affectionate veneration with which he
 regarded the Archbishop, directing from his retire-
 ment at Cologne the distracted Church of Holland*.
 It was now Sasbold's endeavour to procure the nomi-
 nation of Rovenius from the Court of Rome; but
 difficulties intervened. The Jesuits threw every ob-
 stance in the way; the Archduke was cautious; and
 during the lifetime of Sasbold the proposed plan
 never took effect. It is a pleasing picture which
 is presented by the last letters and journals of this
 prelate, the latter commencing with the prayer of
 Nehemiah,—“Remember me, O my God, for good,
 and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done
 for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof.”

19. When the plague broke out at Oldenzaal and Exertions
of the
Arch-
bishop:
his declin-
ing health.
 at Lingen in 1610, he was indefatigable in minister-
 ing to the sick, and enfeebled his already declining
 health by the fatigues and watchings which he then
 underwent. In 1611 we find him at the Hague,
 where, at the hazard of his life, he held a confir-
 mation, and administered that sacrament to James de

* These letters, most of which I have read, commenced in 1608. Some of them are sufficiently curious. That of Feb. 28, 1609, gives a long account of a priest at Lichtenyoert, near Grolle, suspected of magic on account of the numerous cures which he effected. That of June 4 in the same year relates an outbreak of Calvinism, which for some time put the Chapter in imminent peril. The

earlier of these letters are always directed to Vosmeer as *Archiepiscopus Philippensis et Vicarius Apostolicus*. After July 26, 1612, they are usually addressed to him as *Archiepiscopus Philippensis, et Ultrajectensis necnon Hollandie, Zeelandie, &c., Vicarius Apostolicus*; the comma being clearly and distinctly after *Philippensis*, as Hoynk gives it.

CHAP. IV. la Torre, his future successor. To his brother Tilman, during the course of a long correspondence, he seems to unbosom himself with the greatest freedom. Thus we find him desirous of diminishing the number of Festivals of Obligation; instituting a guild under the invocation of S. Boniface; expressing his belief that, of all medicines recommended to him, trust in God and cheerfulness were the best; and more than once lamenting the facility with which absolution was granted to penitents, in compliance with the new system of confession, even then introduced by the Jesuits. His sentiments on this point are the more worth our notice, as so entirely coinciding with those by which his successors were afterwards animated, and which more than anything else branded the Church of Holland with the suspicion of Jansenism. "I have noticed," he writes to Tilman, "that on account of the great ease with which absolution is granted, men are encouraged to sin against their consciences, and are absolved without any signs of penitence. Thus religion and discipline become a farce; the common people learn to believe nothing; and priests, while they desire to become popular, simply expose themselves to ridicule."

20. The last years of the Archbishop were embittered by a contest with the Papal Nuncio at Cologne, which arose from the following circumstances. The Chapter of the collegiate church of Emmeric had suspended their Vicar, by name Stappart, on account of certain violent and outrageous conduct of which he had been guilty. Stappart appealed to Sasbold as his metropolitan; and by him the sentence of the Chapter was confirmed. On this the Vicar, without observing any of the usual formalities, appealed again to the Nuncio at Cologne, who reversed the former sentences

and reinstated Stappart in his functions. A double CHAP. IV. injustice was thus committed: the Church of Emmeric did not lie within the nunciature of Cologne; and if it had, we have already seen the peculiar privilege of the province of Utrecht, by which all cases of appeal were to be heard and determined on the spot. The Archbishop therefore confirmed his first sentence, declared Stappart irregular for having celebrated after his suspension, and bitterly complained by his agent at Rome of the conduct of the Nuncio. The reply was cautious and evasive; it was for the interest of all parties that peace should be preserved; above all, it was inexpedient that any question of jurisdiction should arise between the Ordinary and a Nuncio. Sasbold replied, that a compromise was impossible; that the whole principle of episcopal jurisdiction was at stake; and that he was resolved to defend himself and his Church to the very last. After twenty-one months of wearisome contestation, the Nuncio was compelled to give way, and Stappart submitted himself, confessed his crime, and was absolved. These litigations were the more vexatious, because the Archbishop might otherwise have availed himself of the truce then subsisting between the United Provinces and the Archduke, for the purpose of visiting his diocese with greater freedom and security^v.

21. From the last report presented by Sasbold to the Nuncio at Brussels, we have a complete picture of the state of the Church of Holland in 1614. Of the 140 canons who composed the Five Chapters of Utrecht, about forty priests in all now survived. There were sixty different places in the city, and about 500 in the province, where service was performed at irre-

The last
report of
Sasbold.

^v All these negotiations are related at great length in the Tract. Hist., iii. pp. 58—71.

CHAP. IV. gular intervals, for the purpose of eluding the vigilance of the magistrates. In the other towns of the province of Utrecht there might also be forty priests ; in Guelderland and the duchy of Cleves the public exercise of the Catholic religion was allowed, and the Chapter of Emmeric existed as before the Reformation.

The Church was also flourishing in the dioceses of Haarlem and Deventer ; in the latter, the Chapters of the cathedral and of Oldenzaal maintained themselves ; the latter town and the neighbouring territory being indeed, as we have seen, under the dominion of the Archduke. In the dioceses of Groningen and Leeuwarden there were but seventeen priests in all ; in that of Middelburg not one ; the very few Catholics who resided in Zeeland being supplied from Utrecht itself. Far greater havoc had been made among the religious houses. Of these, before the Reformation, the six dioceses had contained in all, 440. Up to the year 1613, eighteen abbeys and convents had partially retained their revenues. But in that year the States, irritated by the imprudence of a Jesuit named Leeuw, had suppressed all, only allowing a pension to nuns of above thirty years' profession. In the next year, out of eighteen religious who still remained in the country, two only rendered any service to the Church, while some of the others were a disgrace to their profession.

Labours of
Van Dors-
chot,

22. Among the seculars, distinguished as a body by great zeal, there were some in particular whose names ought not to be forgotten. Adrian Van Dorschot had been imprisoned and threatened with the rack, in order to induce him to reveal the hiding-places of some of his brethren. "I am in the hands of God," he said, "and I trust that He will give me patience to suffer." As soon as he was dismissed from prison, he betook himself

to the service of those who were attacked by the plague. CHAP. IV.
 John Wachtelaer, or, as he Latinized his name, Vigilius, Vicar-general of Utrecht, was one of the most laborious missionaries in Holland, and was banished by the Provincial States, being condemned also to a fine of 6,600 florins. When his sentence was pronounced, and he was reduced to beggary, he merely said, like S. Cyprian when condemned to the block, "Thanks be to God;" he solaced his exile by writing an Abridgment of the Doctrine of S. Augustine and a Harmony of our Lord's Passion. Rumold Medenblick was another zealous labourer at Leyden and in Rhijnland. Of him it is recorded that, in the course of his missionary tours, he would sometimes pass twenty-four hours in one church, occupied in baptizing and confessing, without a moment's pause in his labours; and that, on being reproached with wearing himself out, he replied, "CHRIST came not to do His own will, but the will of the FATHER Which sent Him." He also died in exile. Sasbold might point to these and many such in reply to the calumnies of the Jesuits; and though they lived not to see the fruit of their own labours, the prodigious stride made by the Church of Holland in the next half-century shews how deeply she was indebted to them.

23. On the 25th of April, 1614, Vosmeer was suddenly seized with an illness which the physicians assured him from the very first would prove mortal. Last illness and death of Sasbold.
 "And so it is time," he replied: "I had always reckoned on forty years of labour. It is now forty-two years since I received the priesthood; I would that they had been spent more profitably; and now it is high time that I should depart and be with CHRIST." On the evening of the 3rd of May he went to his rest, as the 31st Psalm was being read to him. He was

CHAP IV. attended to his grave, on the 13th of the same month, by a vast concourse of people, who had venerated him as a saint; and even the bitterest enemies of the Church of Holland have never denied the merits of this her first archbishop since she ceased to exist as an establishment. His memory was honoured by the affectionate testimonies of the greatest theologians of his time; and Paul V. expressed to his brother Tilman his grief for the "loss of the excellent endowments and singular merit of that true prelate." By this same brother, who had so long enjoyed his correspondence, a splendid monument of alabaster was erected to him in the church of the Franciscans at Cologne, in which he is designated by his true title of Archbishop of Philippi and Utrecht, and Vicar-Apostolic.

His remains in the archives of S. Gertrude consist of five folio volumes of letters written by, and eight addressed to, him, besides one which contains the correspondence of Tilman Vosmeer^z.

^z Sasbold Vosmeer's Life is given in *Bat. Sac.*, vol. ii. pp. 44—73; *Bellegarde*, pp. 81—112; *Tractatus Historicus*, v. pp. 23—240; and *Defensio Ecclesiæ Trajectinæ*, pp. 1—

33. There also exist two MS. lives of this prelate—the one by John Trutius, Dean of Oldenzaal, the other by Anthony Plaet.

CHAPTER V.

VACANCY OF THE SEE. 1614—1620.

PHILIP ROVENIUS, THIRD ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT,

UNDER THE TITLE OF ARCHBISHOP OF PHILIPPI. 1620—1651.

1. It was on a fine bright evening at the beginning of May that an express arrived at Oldenzaal from Cologne, bringing intelligence of the decease of Sasbold Vosmeer^a. Rovenius was sitting down to supper, and it so happened that he was then entertaining as his guest his brother Henry, confessor to the celebrated convent of Voorst, near Brussels. “Now, Philip,” exclaimed he, “resistance will be no longer in your power. God has manifestly called you to the government of this Church, and you have only to submit to His will.” Rovenius rose from table in great agitation, went out, admitted himself by a private key into his collegiate church, and there spent the whole night in supplication that God would deliver him from the threatened burden, and would “send by the hand of him by whom He would send.” When the sacristan came to ring the bell for matins, the Dean was still earnest in his devotions before the altar of the blessed Sacrament.

CHAP. V.

Efforts of
Rovenius
to excuse
himself
from the
Vicariate.

2. We must go back a little in the course of events. The Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem had, as early as 1612, named three ecclesiastics for the coadjutorship.

Negotia-
tions about
the Vica-
riate.

^a Bat. Sac. ii. 75. There is a graphic account of these proceedings in a letter preserved in the archives, clearly written by Henry Rovenius.

CHAP. V. Rovenius was the first; Sextius^b, of whom I have before spoken, was the second; the third was Francis Dusseldorp^c. He had originally been a lawyer, and had distinguished himself by the energy with which he always defended the rights of the poor; weary of the world, he entered holy orders, and, notwithstanding some eccentricities, was always esteemed a zealous labourer in the LORD'S vineyard. Each of these three was most earnest in refusing the dignity:—

“I beseech you by the mercy of God,” wrote Rovenius^d to Sasbold, “to excuse me from undertaking a burden to which neither my powers of body or of mind are equal. You have ready to your hand other ecclesiastics of more experience, better acquainted with men and places, more used to deal with courts. There are other reasons, which are not unknown to you, in themselves sufficient to prevent me from undertaking the office; I say nothing of them here, lest I should seem ostentatiously confessing my faults for the sake of obtaining a compliment.”

In the meantime, the Jesuit Arboreus was intriguing for the dignity. But the Chapter of Utrecht had already suffered too much from the Society to trust the fortunes of their Church to one of its members. Vexed by the obstinacy of Rovenius, they at length substituted Henry Vorden, afterwards Dean of Oldenzaal, as their Postulate. The Chapter of Haarlem, however, with a better knowledge of the worth of their man, continued to demand Rovenius.

Jansenius of Louvain decides in favour of Rovenius.

3. Things were in this condition on the death of Vosmeer, and each Chapter remained obstinate in defending its own nominee. At length, by mutual consent, Jansenius, President of the College of Hadrian VI. at Louvain, was appointed arbiter of the

^b In all the histories he is here · warden.
called Oostervirius, from the place
of his birth, Oosterwyk, near Leeu-
^c Bat. Sacr. II. 262.
^d Tract. Hist. ii. 70.

difference, and a deputation from either Chapter waited on them to defend their Postulate. Words at first ran high, but by the ability and good-temper of Jansenius matters were at length smoothed down, and both Chapters acquiesced in the election of Rovenius. "I was caught," he used afterwards to say, "by the treachery of Jansenius." He soon after received the vicariate-apostolic, though the difficulties which have been before mentioned deferred his receiving episcopal ordination. He continued to reside at Oldenzaal, and thence to govern the dioceses of Utrecht, Haarlem, and Deventer. In the meanwhile the clergy, vividly impressed with the necessity of a true bishop, were active in soliciting the consent of the Archduke Albert to his consecration. In consideration, however, of the truce which he had concluded with the States, and for the infraction of which he was determined to give no pretext, he refused that consent which should never have been asked.

4. During the twelve years' truce, external events seemed working for the good of the Church of Holland. The growing despotism of Prince Maurice, the barefaced manner in which he trampled on the free institutions of his country, and quartered garrisons of his own creatures on the most considerable towns, naturally excited the hopes of the partizans of Spain; while the Synod of Dort, in which, to use the words of an impartial historian, "theology was mystified, religion disgraced, and Christianity outraged," caused many, disgusted with its edicts, to return to the Church. "After 152 sittings, during six months' display of ferocity and fraud, the solemn mockery was closed on the 9th of May, 1619, by the declaration of the president, that its miraculous labours had made hell to tremble." The murder of Barneveldt, the im-

CHAP. V.

Despotism
of Prince
Maurice.

Synod of
Dort.

CHAP. V. imprisonment of Grotius, the conspiracy against Maurice, and the unrelenting revenge with which he pursued those implicated in the plot, all helped to open men's eyes to the true character of that Calvinism which Holland professed, and that liberty of judgment which she preached.

Rovenius,
Arch-
bishop of
Utrecht,
under the
title of
Arch-
bishop of
Philippi.

5. Just before the truce expired, the solicitations of the clergy were crowned with success. Rovenius was consecrated in his brother's abbey of Voorst, near Brussels, Nov. 8, 1620, by Sanseverini, Archbishop of Salerno and Papal Nuncio, Boonen of Mechlin and Balder of Antwerp assisting. On his return to Oldenzaal, he was received with all possible display: cannon fired, bells rang, the troops under Baron de Moorsel turned out as a guard of honour, and *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity in the church of S. Plechelm. The new prelate varied not at all the quiet and humble tenor of his former life, though his leisure was interrupted and his attention distracted by new intrigues on the part of the Jesuits. It was at length resolved that the Archbishop should visit Rome in person; Bolius, canon of S. Mary at Utrecht, an indefatigable pastor, and Nonnius, Dean of Haarlem, who had more than once been imprisoned for the faith, were nominated by the Chapters as their proctors to the Holy See. It would be tedious^e to relate the progress of the consequent negotiations. It is sufficient to know that, after innumerable delays, occasioned by the stratagems and chicaneries of the Jesuits, a Concordat was drawn up, in terms perhaps less ample than the occasion seemed to require, but which, nevertheless, so far as words went, assured to Rovenius

^e All these negotiations are related in Tract. Hist. v. 250—265. Also in Bellegarde, pp. 123—125.

The letters on the subject are preserved in the Archives, where I have examined them.

the same authority over all the priests, Jesuits and other Regulars, as well as seculars, within his diocese, which other bishops possess within the limits of their jurisdiction. On his return from Rome, Rovenius remained in Brabant till towards the conclusion of 1625. The rest of that year and a part of the next was employed in visiting the principal churches of Overysse, which yet acknowledged the King of Spain, —Lingen, Grolle, Emmeric, Huessen, and Grieth.

6. On the death of Prince Maurice, his brother, Frederic Henry, assumed the helm of affairs and the direction of the war. Carrying his arms into Overysse, he re-won the greater part of that province, and the important towns of Grolle^f and Oldenzaal. On the day previous to the surrender of the latter place, Rovenius assembled his flock for the last time within the walls of the collegiate church. Having celebrated mass, he gave directions for the removal of crosses and pictures, and for the stripping of the various altars; and then addressed the people, interrupted only by their tears and sighs. Their earthly arms, he told them, had been unfortunate; but there was a contest in which everyone might win that chose; their means of grace would be uncertain, but God was not tied to means only. Temptations and allurements, perhaps threats and persecutions, there would be many; but the true faith was, and must remain, one. The crosses were removed from the church, but the Cross of CHRIST must still be borne in their hearts;

Overysse
conquered
by the
States.

^f There is a particular account of the siege of Grolle by Hugo Grotius, which is generally appended to his Annals of the Dutch War of Independence. I have them in the translation of John Gerius, who has made some additions and corrections. He thus speaks of our archbishop:—

“Deesen Aertsbisschop was Philip-pus Rovenius, die sigh mit den naem wel uitgaf voor Aertsbisschop der Philippensen, dogh in der daet door last des Paus van Rome was een opsiender der Kerkelijke Sacken door Hollandt, en de landtschappen onder 't selfde verbindt.”—(p. 14.)

CHAP. V. the images of the saints were taken down, but the examples of the saints must be followed; a little while, and these interruptions to the service of God would be at an end for ever, and they who had, in the midst of all difficulties, walked by faith, would enter into the possession of all glory, and need nothing but love. And that was Rovenius's farewell to his church of Oldenzaal.

Rovenius
takes up
his abode
at Utrecht.

7. The Archbishop, though he had been persecuted by the States immediately after his consecration, determined to repair to Utrecht, and to reside there in secrecy. He fixed his home in the house of Henrietta de Duivenvoorde, a daughter of the noble family of that name, long lords of Warmond, who had bound herself by a vow of perpetual chastity. He here found an asylum for twenty-five years, till his death; and dating his letters, as he generally does, *ex loco nostro*^g, he often speaks of the kindness and attention of his hostess, who herself seems to have taken a deep interest in the affairs of the Church. It is in this same year, 1626, that the celebrated Cornelius Jansen first makes his appearance in connexion with Holland. As he was about to visit Spain, the two Chapters solicited, through him^h, the confirmation of Rovenius, by Philip III., to the see of Utrecht.

Erection
of the
Vicariate.

8. A regulation of Rovenius, imperatively called for by the times, has been made one chief ground of Ultramontane cavils against the rights of the Church of Holland. At the Reformation—and this was one

^g Most of his letters which I have read in the archives are signed *Van Dael*, or *Van Daelen*, and a few *Wynkovius*, from the maiden name of his mother. I made diligent enquiry at Utrecht for any tradition connected with the site of this house; but it would seem that nothing is known on the sub-

ject. It would appear, however, from Tract. Hist. iii. 79, that she resided at the house called Hazenberg, (whether the great or little is not said). This house stood on the site now occupied at the Hotel de Ville. (Utrecht and its Environs, p. 39.)

^h Tractat. Hist. iii. 76.

of the few honourable proceedings which characterized it—the canonries of the Five Chapters were not suppressed, nor were the then holders deprived of them. As they became vacant, Protestants were admitted to them as to honourable sinecures¹, though Catholics were also occasionally presented. In both cases the ancient usages were preserved, and the succession was perpetuated by collations *ad turnum*, resignations, and presentations, as before. This mongrel body still continued to hold its chapters for the purpose of managing its estates, and keeping up the fabric of the cathedral; while the Catholic part of it, as we have seen, held *their* separate meetings for the transaction of the ecclesiastical business of the diocese. At length, in 1622, when of the 285 canons and vicars who composed the Five Chapters, forty-five only were Catholics, the States of Utrecht passed a resolution that none but Protestants should for the future be presented to the vacant dignities. Rovenius was thus thrown into great perplexity. If no fresh canons were appointed, the Catholic Chapter, and with it the Church of Utrecht, would soon be at end; if fresh appointments were made, the States would be irritated, and all named to the vacant offices would be banished. The Archbishop, therefore, chose seven of the existing canons; to these he added the few priests whom he had intended to appoint to the dignities which should fall vacant in his own months; and these he formed into what he called a *vicariate* of eleven ecclesiastics, subsequently reduced to nine, and now to eight, but which was in truth the old Chapter under another title. This, in fact, is the Hougomont of

CHAP. V.

Anomalous condition of the Chapter.

Constitution of the Vicariate,

which was thenceforward the true Chapter of Utrecht.

¹ Thus; for example, Admiral Van Gent, killed in the battle of Solebay in 1672, whose tomb occupies the

ancient position of the high altar in the cathedral, was a canon.

CHAP. V. the Church of Utrecht; it has been the object of the bitterest attack on the part of her enemies, and of the most vigorous defence on the part of her sons. Not to interrupt the course of the history, we have thrown the arguments into an appendix^k. Even supposing that the proceedings were not perfectly regular, ought a Church which, like the lion of the States, might have for its motto *Luctor et emergo*, a Church struggling with persecution, beset with heretics, to be tied down to the "most straightest" rules of worldly peace and prosperity? Van Espen, however, has left it as his judgment that all was most perfectly canonical; and that the proceeding might stand the investigation of any discipline in any time.

Recommence-
ment of
the perse-
cution.

9. As soon as Rovenius had fixed his abode at Utrecht, the persecution which, as long as the truce continued, had been suffered to drop, again commenced with redoubled vigour. The churches, if so they may be called, constructed during this period, some of which still remain, afford a lively picture of the dangers to which the Catholics were exposed. A house in some remote and unfrequented district of the city was selected, the whole of the interior was gutted, galleries of four, or five, or even six stages, erected from top to bottom, every possible space of cornice or window-sill made available for auditors, while transverse apertures were opened in all directions, in order to afford the faithful a view of the mysteries of the altar. Small round holes, concealed by sliding panels, commanded a view of all the passages by which the officers of justice might be expected to arrive. It is very much to be hoped that some of these curious buildings, which may still be seen at Amsterdam, at Utrecht, and at Haarlem, may be

^k See Appendix III.

preserved to posterity; as a proof of the fidelity of the persecuted Church in Holland, and of the boasted toleration of Protestant rulers. They were frequently attached, or adjacent, to some tavern; thus at Amsterdam there were the churches of the Pigeon, the Moses and Aaron, the Green Tree, and the Parroquet. In summoning the Catholics to these meetings, and in giving warning of any danger, the Klopjes, or Knocking Sisters, were of the greatest use. It was Rovenius who gave form and consistency to this order. Religious communities and a marked dress were, of course, out of the question: the Sisters resided at home, went out into the villages, nursed the sick, catechised, gave alms, and effected more conversions than the priests. They were the subject of the most furious placards on the part of their High Mightinesses; they were forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to assemble in any number exceeding two; they were incapable of making a will, or of inheriting real or landed property. These laws, however, were not universally carried out: there was in the seventeenth century a kind of Béguinage at Amsterdam, in which, through the connivance of the magistrates, one hundred were permitted to reside; at Haarlem there were three hundred, at Delft more than fifty. At Utrecht they resided near the church, called then, as now, S. Gertrude in den Hoek, a kind of strange, out-of-the-way corner on the western side of the city, and not far from the road which leads from Amsterdam to Gorcum. Anyone who has attended service in this church must have wondered at the innumerable passages, gates, and doors, which afford an outlet to the Vredenburg on the one side, and to the Marie-plaatz on the other. I have been informed that the last surviving Klopje died at Utrecht in the sum-

CHAP. V.

The Klopjes:

connived at by the magistrates.

CHAP. V.

Their use
in the
temporary
churches.

mer of 1853. The name of Klopjes, though other derivations have been proposed for it, is undoubtedly taken from the Dutch verb *kloppen*, to knock, because it was thus that they gave warning in case of sudden danger. Each Sister had her own peculiar article of church furniture,—chalice, corporal, paten, cruet, or whatever else it might be,—which it was her duty to remove, should the magistrates obtain information of the meeting; and thus, in an incredibly short time, all traces of service were taken away, and the officers of justice found nothing but bare walls and empty galleries. Some years later, the Archbishop of Kafenza, Papal Legate in Germany, happened to visit Utrecht:—

“The Catholics there,” he says, in the printed account of his travels, “edified me so much as to make me believe myself to be in apostolic times. Their modesty, their attention, their silence, were such, that they resembled rather statues than living men, so attentive were they to the contemplation of divine things. At Communion I was astonished to observe a great number of virgins, all veiled, like the choir of seraphims who covered their faces in the presence of the Most High. I could not help saying to myself, ‘Would to God that devotion flourished as much in the convents of Italy as it does among these nuns, who live in the world and among Protestants!’”

Placards of
the States-
General.

10. It may not be amiss to string together the principal placards issued against Catholics, in order that the difficulties and dangers of Rovenius may be more distinctly understood:—

April 4, 1596. All persons are forbidden to enter the universities in the Spanish dominions; banishment to everyone who has taken a degree in any of them.

March 27, 1612. All monks or priests remaining in the country to be imprisoned. Public or secret

conventicles in favour of the Papal superstition sub-
jected to a heavy fine. CHAP. V.

Feb. 1, 1620. All Catholic and Mennonite preachers to be imprisoned at once.

Jan. 11, 1636. All persons who have received holy orders to leave the country within six days, or to be capitally punished.

April 9, 1639. The Klopjes forbidden to catechise, under pain of imprisonment.

Aug. 30, 1641. The Klopjes forbidden to reside elsewhere than in the houses of their parents.

Dec. 17, 1644. All legacies in favour of the Klopjes declared null and void ; the administration of their own goods taken from them, and entrusted to persons of the established religion.

April 14, 1649. Renews all former placards against the Klopjes and other Catholics.

Nov. 28, 1655. The same prohibition again renewed. In this placard their High Mightinesses, better merchants than scholars, confuse Béguines with Bé-gardes, and with the order of Jesuitesses suppressed by Urban VIII. in 1634.

These edicts were renewed in Friesland as late as 1667 ; but shortly after that period they fell into dis-use, and the Klopjes were even permitted to appear abroad in their religious dress, which nearly resembled that of a Benedictine nun.

11. Notwithstanding all his other labours, Rovenius found time to institute a school of Lay-Controvertists. Lay-Con-
trovertists. These were men chosen by each pastor in his parish, for the express purpose of disputing with the better-educated among the Protestants. They assembled in the church every Sunday and festival, after mass ; a subject was given out at one meeting to be discussed at the next ; the pastor appointed one of his scholars

CHAP. V. to take the Protestant, and another the Catholic, side, he himself moderating in the dispute. This institution produced wonderful effects. It is not strange that, in spite of all the persecution, the energy of Rovenius and his fellow-labourers should have been crowned with great success. The Church of Holland reached its lowest ebb in the year 1614. At that time the 600 priests, whom Sasbold Vosmeer had found at their posts, were reduced to 170. In 1622 there were nearly 300. In 1638 there were 482; and in like manner Rovenius saw, during the course of his episcopate, the number of the Catholic laity increase from 200,000 to 300,000.

Increase of
the Church
of Holland.

The war
carried on
with
greater
energy.

12. In the year 1630, Rovenius was exposed to personal danger from an attempt made by the States to apprehend him. The officers of justice, it is said, searched every apartment of Madame Duivenvoorden's house, with the single exception of the prelate's own room, where he was seated, and awaiting the arrival of the police. This singular escape recalls the similar deliverance of the great Dionysius at Alexandria. As the war was carried on with greater energy, the persecution increased; and when the Prince of Orange had taken Bois-le-duc, while the Spaniards became masters of Amersfoort and the Veluwe, Utrecht was placed as it were between two fires, and the danger became imminent. For ten years the placards were carried out to their full extent, and imprisonment for life was the penalty to which every priest who remained at his post was subjected. The foundation of the University in 1636 fomented the fierceness of Protestant zeal, and the celebrated Gisbert Voet revenged himself for the polemical defeat he had sustained from Cornelius Jansen, by exciting the magistrates to greater rigour against their Catholic subjects. In the city itself,

Andrew de Cock suffered martyrdom¹ for his adherence to the ancient faith; and in the little village of Middelburg, near Gouda, Martin Van Velde obtained the same honour.

CHAP. V.
The persecution
rages.

“Daily,” says Rovenius, writing to Rome in 1638, “we experience various disturbances of the divine offices, imprisonment of priests, fines, banishments; the persecution ceases not, but rather increases, because the placards against priests and those who harbour them, or allow the worship of God to be performed in their houses, are renewed; and strict orders have been given to all the officials, under pain of deprivation and other penalties, not to connive at the Catholics, nor to suffer themselves to be bribed.”

At the end of September, 1639^m, the burgomaster of Utrecht, escorted by a sufficient body of officers, demanded admission at Madame Duivenvoorden’s house. Rovenius was then engaged in dictating to his secretary, Godfrey van Mook, whose brother was also seated with him. A servant rushed into the room, threw her cloak round the Bishop, and hurried him out by the back door; the brothers Van Mook were taken, threatened with the torture, confessed to certain episcopal actsⁿ performed by Rovenius, were heavily fined, and banished. In the following March^o the same sentence was pronounced against the Archbishop himself, who thereupon withdrew from Utrecht, and wandered for some time through his province, teaching, preaching, catechising as he could, and setting a brilliant example of Christian resignation and cheerfulness. More than ever, while thus in exile, “he was a burning and a shining light.”

Narrow
escape of
Rovenius.

13. Before these troubles, the age and infirmities of Rovenius had rendered him desirous of obtaining a

¹ In 1636.

and are printed in Bat. Sacr. ii. 80;

^m Bat. Sacr. ii. 81; Bellegarde,
p. 138.

Defens. Eccl. Ultraj. Mouum. cxi.;
Tract. Hist. iii. 79.

ⁿ All these acts are in existence,

^o March 6, 1639.

CHAP. V.

James de
la Torre,
coadjutor
to Rove-
nius.

coadjutor and successor. A synod of the clergy of the dioceses of Utrecht and Haarlem having met in the former city on the 6th May, 1637, elected to that office James de la Torre, a native of Hague, and who was then exercising the pastoral office in the village of Eykenduinen, near that city. The suavity of his manners, his learning, and the zeal which he had displayed as a priest, apparently caused his brethren to overlook that want of firmness, and inaptitude to govern, which afterwards rendered his episcopate so disastrous to the national Church. The election was approved by Rovenius, confirmed by Urban VIII., and allowed by the Cardinal Infant, then Governor of the Low Countries.

Rovenius
approves
the *Augustinus*.

14. The last years of the life of Rovenius were mostly passed at Utrecht. The correspondence preserved in the archives of S. Gertrude bears ample testimony to his labours even in extreme old age. One action, taken in reference to the future history of his Church, is remarkable. In Nov. 1641 he approved, in conjunction with nine of his principal ecclesiastics, the *Augustinus* of Jansenius of Ypres,—that work which was to give occasion to the fierce dissensions of two centuries, not yet composed. He had contracted an intimate friendship with that prelate, and when the latter conceived the idea of introducing the Congregation^p of the Oratory into the Low Countries, as a kind of moral support to the episcopate, almost annihilated by the intrigues of the Jesuits, Rovenius entered warmly into the plan, which, however, was not carried out. Of his various publications, that of His works. the “Treatise on Missions^q” made most sensation, and was delated by the Jesuits to the Roman Inqui-

^p Hoynk, Hist. Eccl. Ultraj., p. 17.

^q The Correspondence is given in Bat. Sacr. ii. 82.

sition, by which it was approved, and it was long con- [CHAP. V.
sidered a standard work. His "Christian Republic"
is an able and pious treatise. Besides the voluminous
correspondence which he carried on with his priests,
he drew up three distinct relations of the progress of
his Church, for the information of the cardinals. As
Bishop of the nearest see, he sent into Norway John
Martin Rugens^r, with the most ample powers to ex-
ercise his mission in that country,—a mission, of the
results of which I can learn nothing.

15. Deeply attached, like his successors, to the Last days
of Ro-
venius. doctrine of S. Augustine, Rovenius had always prayed
that he might be taken from the world in the same
year of his life which put an end to the labours of
that great doctor. He expressed his earnest desire to
this effect when, in 1649, he celebrated his "Golden
Mass" in the Abbey of Forest, near Brussels, and it
was heard. At the end of September, 1651, he was
seized with an illness which soon was seen to be
mortal. In imitation of his favourite saint, he scarcely
ever allowed the Penitential Psalms to be out of his
sight; and three hours before his death he desired to
be laid in ashes on the ground. Thus, in faith and
great patience, he resigned his spirit to its Creator on His death,
Oct. 1, 1651^s. He was buried in the house where he
had so long lived, the necessities of the times forbid-
ding any other arrangement; and it is said that, seven
years after his decease, his grave being opened, the
body was found uncorrupted.

16. Even the adversaries of the Church of Holland and cha-
racter. have done justice to the virtues of this great and good
prelate. "The admirable example^t," says one of the

^r Bat. Sacr. ii. 83.

^s I have a contemporary drawing
of Rovenius, as he lay in state,
which closely resembles the engrav-

ing in the Bat. Sacr.

^t De Rebus Eccl. Ultraj., p. 83.
Hoynk speaks not less favourably of
him. Hist. Eccl. Ult., p. 17. It was

CHAP. V. most bitter among them, “ of piety, humility, sobriety, and the greatest edification, have shed a lustre over the forty years during which he combated for the Catholic faith.”

Treaty of
Münster.

Three years before the death of Rovenius, the celebrated treaty of Münster had sealed the *de jure* independence of the Seven Provinces. This event more especially belongs to our history, because certain of the adversaries of the Church of Holland have fixed it as the epoch at which the Archbishops of Utrecht, real Archbishops till then, became Vicars-Apostolic; since—so runs the argument—there can be no diocesan episcopacy in a country of which the supreme power is heretical!

left for Dom Pitra (part II., chapters vii. and viii.) to vilify the memory of one whom the bitterest of

Molinist writers had up to that time revered.

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES DE LA TORRE, FOURTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT,

UNDER THE TITLE OF ARCHBISHOP OF EPHEBUS. 1651—1661.

1. JAMES DE LA TORRE had been consecrated, May 19, 1647, under the title of Archbishop of Ephesus; and it afterwards became a point of importance that the ceremony had been performed by one bishop^a, or according to others, by two bishops, only. In the month of August following he administered confirmation to a large assembly at Spanbroek, a village between Alkmaar and Schagen, in North Holland. On this he was banished, his private estate was confiscated, and he himself took up his residence at Antwerp.

2. Rovenius was no sooner in the grave than the Jesuits recommenced their intrigues. Paludanus, an Augustinian, who had distinguished himself by an attack on the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, was presented to the internuncio at Brussels as a candidate for the Vicariate Apostolic; on the reply that it was already conferred, he was put forward as a fit coadjutor and successor to De la Torre. Here, again, he was baffled, it being discovered that his own age was greater than that of the man whom he proposed to succeed. "Had a regular, and a stranger to the country, been appointed to the office, religion," says De la Torre, "would have been at an end^b."

3. Firmly as this prelate resisted so open an attack, he was not proof against persuasion and intrigue. The

^a The celebrated Paradanus, Abbat of Vleerbech, in Flanders, says *one*, (Recueil, p. 164); Van Heussen, *two*. Bat. Sacr. 459.

^b See his letter, bearing date Dec. 17, 1651, to Sivolt, Defens. Eccl. Traj. 456.

CHAP. VI.
Consecra-
tion of
James De
la Torre.

Intrigues
of Palu-
danus.

Offers
made to
De la
Torre;

CHAP. VI. Jesuits asserted that they had the power of obtaining for him an episcopate in the Low Countries, less onerous and more wealthy than that of Utrecht ; and having induced him only fourteen days later to enter the sacristy of their house at Brussels, they obtained from him an act by which he permitted them to establish eleven new stations, and to increase the number of their missionaries in those which they already possessed. This document is known by the name of the *Concessiones Ephesinæ* ^e.

The *Concessiones Ephesinæ*.

The Chapter of Haarlem defends its rights.

4. The chapter of Haarlem was vigorous in defence of its rights. They represented to the Archbishop that, without their consent, he could not allow so flagrant a violation of their jurisdiction. The weak prelate endeavoured to retrace his steps, and the Jesuits themselves gave him the opportunity. Not content with taking possession of the posts that had been assigned to them, they presented a petition to the Propaganda, in which they set forth, more boldly than ever, their often-repeated assertion, that the Church in Holland had come to an end ; that all jurisdiction had perished, and that therefore they needed no further authorization for their stations than that of the superior of their mission^d. De la Torre resolved to undertake the journey to Rome, and his clergy gave him as companion Abraham van Brienens, who had already visited the Eternal City in his company. Van Brienens was pastor of S. Gertrude at Utrecht, a man celebrated, besides his learning and holiness of life, for the ready wit with which, in his sermons, he seized the weak point of an heretical argument, and reduced it to an absurdity^e. The deputies lost no time in presenting

De la Torre at Rome.

^e It is given at full in Bat. Sacr. ii. 459.

^d This document is printed at length in Tract. Hist. i. 95.

^e Van Heussen possessed an account of his journey to Rome, written very amusingly by himself. If it is in the archives, it escaped my

a memorial to the Propaganda, in which the Arch- CHAP. VI.
 bishop gave a full account of the state of his diocese
 and province, vindicated his clergy from the calum-
 nies charged against them, and exposed the intrigues
 of the Jesuits. It must be confessed, however, that so
 far as style and arrangement is concerned, a certain
 degree of weakness is visible in this document^f.

5. The Propaganda at once took the matter into Instruc-
tions of
the Propa-
ganda.
 consideration. By the instructions of July 2, con-
 firmed by a Bull of Alexander VII., bearing date
 Sept. 20, the Jesuits, in common with the other re-
 ligious orders, are enjoined to acknowledge the juris-
 diction of the ordinaries throughout Holland; and
 this important success was announced by the prelate,
 on his return to Holland, in two pastoral letters: and
 we find him vigorously carrying out the decree of
 the Propaganda against a Carmelite friar who obsti-
 nately refused obedience to it.

6. While at Rome, an affair was commenced which Affair of a
coadjutor.
 shortly entailed vexatious consequences on the Church
 of Holland. De la Torre was anxious to obtain a
 coadjutor, and was desired by the Pope to furnish
 him with a list of ecclesiastics whom he thought qual-
 ified for the dignity. Among the eight names which
 he furnished, the last was that of Zachary de Metz, a
 canon of Thorren, near Liége, who had been acquainted
 with the Nuncio Chigi (now elevated to the chair of
 S. Peter) at Cologne, and who was now at Rome on
 the somewhat unedifying errand of procuring a dis-
 pensation which should enable him to hold a second
 canonry at Maestricht. His name was inserted merely

search. Van Brienon died in 1683,
 after more than fifty years' pastorate.
 His meditations on the Advent and
 the Passion, written under the name
 of Van der Mat, and reprinted at

Leyden in 1709, are very excellent.

^f Broedersen (Tr. Hist. i. 96) only
 gives extracts. The document itself
 is preserved in the archives.

CHAP. VI. out of compliment to the Pope, but the note was added that he was unknown in Holland, and would probably be prejudiced in favour of the regulars. Baldwin Catz, Dean of Haarlem, was first nominated; on his refusal, various negotiations took place, in which the rights of the clergy to elect were entirely overlooked. The Chapter of Utrecht at length furnished a list of four, among whom the great and good John de Neercassel, then Vicar-General of the archdiocese, stood first. The Pope passed by all, and finally resolved on De Metz. He was consecrated under the title of Bishop of Tralles, and on going into Holland, took up his residence at Amsterdam. Here his hasty temper involved him in many difficulties, and embroiled his whole Church.

Zachary de Metz co-adjutor of De la Torre.

7. He had obtained a permission from the magistrates to reside in the capital; but the open way in which he conducted religious ceremonies, and especially his habit of wearing his episcopal vestments in public, soon gave great offence, and excited fears that another persecution would be the result. His domineering spirit was resented by the clergy, and he was presently involved in an open rupture with the Chapters of both Utrecht and Haarlem. Acting rather as ordinary than as coadjutor, he at length proceeded so far as to annihilate the latter Chapter, but was forced to retract this document. In vain did De la Torre, writing from Antwerp, remind him that he was only invested with subordinate authority, that the Propaganda had not elevated him to the episcopate to enable him to destroy the clergy, but to assist them. The grand vicars of Haarlem (who were De la Torre's pro-vicars) were in continual opposition to the Bishop of Tralles, and were obliged to act strenuously against his aggressions. De Metz was in necessitous circum-

He is embroiled with the clergy.

stances, to relieve which he had recourse to a collection of alms, which gave great offence. His applications to Rome for an income were met with no more consoling reply than

“Nos mitram dedimus: tu cætera cures.”

I hurry over an epoch that has but little of interest, especially as more exciting times are approaching. Zachary de Metz was seized with a tedious illness in the beginning of 1661, which brought him to the grave July 15 of that year. His death.

8. In the meantime, the state of affairs at Brussels was not more favourable. It would seem that De la Torre had always been ambitious of a superior station; and shortly after his return, the Jesuits engaged to use their influence for his presentation to a see in the Low Countries, provided he would make some fresh concessions. He yielded, but not without afterwards expressing his regrets. The see of Ypres falling vacant, he was, after some tedious negotiations, presented to it, but too late for his own advantage. He had given several proofs of an enfeebled mind, and these at length amounting to positive madness, he was confined in the monastery of Huybergen, where he departed this life Sept. 16, 1661. The acts of his last five years were afterwards rescinded by the Propaganda. Fresh intrigues of the Jesuits. Insanity and death of De la Torre.

CHAPTER VII.

BALDWIN CATZ, ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT,
UNDER THE TITLE OF ARCHBISHOP OF PHILIPPI.

JOHN VAN NEERCASSEL, FIFTH^a ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT,
UNDER THE TITLE OF BISHOP OF CASTORIA.

1661—1686.

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Election of
John Van
Neercassel.

1. IT cannot be denied that the episcopate of De la Torre had been highly disastrous to the Church of Holland. It was not simply that the Jesuits had obtained an accession of influence, and an increase of numerical strength, but the arrangement long since devised to propitiate the civil power in the United Provinces was now continued in order that Rome might not take umbrage. De la Torre had entirely dropped the title of Utrecht, and it was scarcely resumed by his successors. At the same time—as innumerable documents remain to prove—in the election to which the clergy proceeded, they proposed, beyond all doubt, to provide themselves with a true archbishop, and not to nominate a mere vicar-apostolic for the approval of the Papal Court. That choice fell on John van Neercassel, Grand Vicar for the two preceding years of the archdiocese. Born at Gorcum, and a relation of Estius, who composed the History of the Nineteen Martyrs named from that town, he pursued his studies in the college of S. Pulcheria at Louvain, and thence removed to Paris, where he entered the Oratorian Convent. That order, as we have seen, was earnest in defence of the doctrine of

^a I follow the usual reckoning of the Church of Holland in not counting Baldwin Catz in the series of her archbishops, because *de jure* he never

ought to have possessed that authority, and *de facto* he never exercised it.

S. Augustine; and no doubt it was through their teaching that the young divine embraced those tenets to which he clung during his long and laborious life, and which have made his memory hateful to Molinists and to Ultramontaness^b. Having removed to Saumur, he next visited Mechlin, and for some time taught theology in the archiepiscopal seminary there.

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2. A beautiful letter, addressed to him by his late superior, Nicolas Jourdain, has been preserved^c:—

H's pre-
vious
labours.

“Let those,” says the old man, “who teach, learn from you, not by word and tongue, not by pen and ink, only, but in deed and in earnest, humility, union, concord; play the messenger of peace; join in the bowels of CHRIST the things that are severed; perfect in the unity of faith and love that which is already joined,—that all may be consummated into one. Be ignorant—or at least act as if you were ignorant—of strife, parties, debates, contentions, which lacerate the Body of Christ; despise no man, vex no man, adore no man; use in all things a Christian balance, for Christian justice is entrusted to you; bear in mind of what Body, of what Head, of what Spirit, you are a member; and how holily you must act as the representative of the Mediator of God and man, CHRIST JESUS.”

How well Van Neercassel carried out the instructions which he thus received, his future history will shew. On his return to Holland, he laboured for some time at Rotterdam, and then at S. Gertrude's at Utrecht. On the death of Wachtelaer, he was chosen Grand Vicar; and on that of Zachary de Metz, was unanimously elected coadjutor and future successor to the Archbishop of Ephesus. The nomination was confirmed by Alexander VII.; but on the death of De la Torre, which occurred, as we have seen, shortly after, the Pope raised Baldwin Catz to the vacant see,

^b See, for example, Dom Pitra, *Holl. Cath.*, pp. 246, sq.

^c *Bat. Sacr.* ii. 477.

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leaving to Van Neercassel his coadjutorship and right of succession. This was an attain to the rights of the clergy, which was severely felt in Holland.

Baldwin
Catz, Arch-
bishop of
Utrecht,
under the
title of
Archbishop
of Phil-
lippi.

3. Catz was also a native of Gorcum^d, and after exercising his ministry at Spaerwoud for some years, he became confessor of the convent in den Hoek at Haarlem, Dean of that diocese, and Vicar of those of Groningen and Leeuwarden. He had refused, in 1655, to become the coadjutor of De la Torre, because his nomination would have infringed the rights of the clergy. But, though his health was much enfeebled, and his mind was far less vigorous, he was now unable to resist the whispers of ambition. By whom it was that he was suggested to the Pope as a fit successor to De la Torre has never clearly been known, but popular belief pointed out Cardinal Albizzi as chief of the intrigue. A weary series of negotiations followed; Neercassel was only too happy to resign his rights; the clergy remonstrated in vain; and Roman influence carried the day. A kind of concordat was entered into at Haarlem, by which it was agreed that Catz should continue to govern that Church, while Neercassel remained at the head of the archdiocese; an informal arrangement, which, had it continued long in force, must inevitably have entailed confusion and discord on its promoters. Catz was consecrated under the title of Archbishop of Philippi, Van Neercassel under that of Bishop of Castoria, at Cologne, Sept. 9, 1662. They were received with the greatest joy at the places where they rested, in their

^c For Baldwin Catz, see De Bellegarde, pp. 163—167; Bat. Sacr., ii. 474—476; Tr. Hist., ii. 89—104; Defens. Eccl. Ult., pp. 61—63. His letters, in the archives, are bound in one volume with those of Zachary de Metz. So far as I

have read them, they completely bear out the character given him by contemporary writers—of a kind and good, but weak man. In his portrait, the very small head, and peculiar expression of mouth, tell the same tale.

voyage down the Rhine, and thus entered on the government of the Church of Holland in the autumn of the same year. CHAP.
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4. Baldwin Catz had always borne the character of a pious, but not an able, man. As director of the Béguinage at Haarlem, he had been much beloved; but it was soon apparent that he was unequal to the weight of that diocese. A few months only had elapsed from his consecration when he began to give proof of impaired intellect^d. His mental infirmity increasing, it was thought fit to remove him to the Oratorian House at Louvain, where he departed this life May 18, 1663. He had been a greater and a happier man if he had refused in his age that mitre which he had rejected in his prime. On his decease, Van Neercassel became, of course, both *de jure* and *de facto*, Archbishop of Utrecht. Death of
Catz.

5. The episcopate of the new prelate was the breathing-time which it pleased God to afford the Church of Holland, before the fearful struggle in which the commencement of the next century was involved. The Protestant magistrates vied with each other in paying compliments and shewing courtesy to the Bishop; his native place, Gorcum, received him with distinguished marks of honour; the old placards were either recalled or avowedly permitted to fall into disuse; the number of Catholics increased daily; and the happiest concord subsisted between the various Labours
and success
of Van
Neercassel.

^d The Acts of the Congregation thus speak:—"Scribit D. Internuntius . . . quod cum ab ipso susceptæ administrationis principio noxios valetudini suæ id genus labores sentire cepisset, utpote qui antea vitæ quietæ assuevisset, sic paullatim ei debilitatum sit cerebrum, ut deinde in manifestum delirium delapsus sit. Unde cum nihil profuisset eum a

negotiis remove, propinqui ejus de Medicorum, plurimique Missionariorum consilio, eum e publico conspectu rapiendum judicarunt, duxeruntque Lovanium ad Collegium Patrum Oratorii: ubi cum nullis aliis tractat, quam cum domesticis; spem plane modicam facientibus Medicis, fore ut unquam convalescat."

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His diaries.

sections of the clergy. The old disputes with Haarlem were arranged: the Chapter acknowledging the prelate to possess the same powers as if he had been consecrated to their own Church; and he maintained their capitular rights to be as complete and entire as those of any Chapter in Christendom. In like manner he confirmed the vicariate of Utrecht, attesting it to be "the column of the Church Catholic militant in Belgium." His labours in his province are attested by a multitude of little diaries which he kept during their course, and which are preserved in the archives. One specimen may serve:—

"1665. Oct. 5. Visited C. R^f. in RY. The oratory, very fair: the holy oils not kept with sufficient attention. Promise of amendment for the future. The office usually said in the houses of the nobility. On complaint made, the pastor desired to begin precisely at half-past eight, and to visit his parishioners more frequently. He lives in a hired house. There is no revenue, except fifty florins. He has four Klopjes, but no wardens. He seems a little tenacious of his own opinion. Asked as to his confessor; he replied that he generally went to Father Baers."

Question
of mixed
marriages.

6. Another point which occupied much of the attention of Van Neercassel was the subject of mixed marriages. It had been the general opinion, up to that time, in the Church of Holland, that the presence of a priest was necessary to the validity of matrimony. Nothing, it is manifest, so much irritated the Protestants as to be told that all their marriages were but

* Dom Pitra's want of good faith is conspicuous in his remark on this document. Van Neercassel writes: "*tanquam columen Ecclesiæ militantis in Fœderato Belgio.*" (Bat. Sacr. ii. 480.) D. Pitra observes, (H. Cath., p. 246): "*Les opérations du Vicariat, qu'il appelle modestement la colonne de l'église militante.*"

This one misquotation is a very good specimen of many.

' This abbreviation would very well stand for *Cornelius Ramsdonck*, pastor in *Ryswick*, which would also agree with the remark about the houses of the nobility. But if the Bat. Sacr. be correct, that priest died some years previously.

legalized adulteries, all their children illegitimate, all their lives one series of immorality. Again, if a wife were converted to the Roman Church, she was bound to leave her husband till re-married to him; and, on his refusal to undergo that rite, might be married to any other person; and so *vice versa*. Van Neercassel was the first to elaborate what is now the Roman practice in the like case. Distinguishing the natural and civil contract from the sacrament, he allowed that all marriages celebrated according to the laws of the country in which they took place were valid, and hence obligatory and indissoluble; though they should afterwards be hallowed, in the case of conversion, by the benediction of the Church. This was approved by the Roman Penitentiary in 1671; and finally, the same doctrine, after having been taught and defended by Van Espen, was made the law of the Roman Church by Benedict XIV. in 1741.

7. Almost simultaneous with the elevation of Van Neercassel to the see of Utrecht was the definite promulgation of the celebrated Formulary, that the five propositions were condemned as being of Jansenius, and in the sense of Jansenius; and the commencement of a more active persecution by the Molinists and Ultramontanes. Undoubtedly, the Bishop of Castoria took an active part in supporting and in sympathizing with his brethren. With the protesting bishops he was on the most intimate terms. Arnould and Quesnel were his valued friends. The second-class leaders of the Augustinian party, as they gradually came forward, began to look to Utrecht as a future home, in case they should ever be overwhelmed by the persecution of *lettres du cachet* and the Bastille.

“At this time,” writes a furious Molinist, “every door was thrown open to French and to Belgian Jansenism. An ac-

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tive correspondence is carried on between Neercassel and the chiefs of the sect. *Noms de guerre* are devised, cyphers arranged at Paris, Brussels, Louvain, and Utrecht. This route is covered with messages and lies. Neercassel made his pilgrimage to Port Royal. Pupil and member of the Oratorians, he transplanted this institution into Holland. Arnauld is at Leyden, and prepares the asylum of Warmond for Quesnel, Gerberon, Van Espen, Duguet, D'Etemare."

Tradition-
al teaching of
the Church
of Holland
on the sub-
ject of
grace.

8. I have already shewn how, in France, Gallican views naturally allied themselves with so-called Jansenism. In Holland, the same alliance was even yet more natural. The clergy, traditionally attached, from the time of à Kempis, and Geert Groote, and Herph, to the Augustinian views of grace, found those tenets unfashionable in the court of Rome, and exposing those who held them to censure, to persecution, to suspicion of heresy. At the same time, they saw their own ecclesiastical rights trampled under foot; they found that the more they yielded, the less mercy was shewn by their opponents; and when the Formula involved the recognition of papal infallibility in questions *de facto*, they ranged themselves, almost to a man, on the side of the persecuted party, and became the defenders of the protesting bishops, of Arnauld, and their followers.

The efforts
of the
Jesuits,

9. The Jesuits, in the meanwhile, were extending their influence, and adding to their stations, in Holland. Van Neercassel again and again complained to the Propaganda; and there are no less than eight decrees^g by which the Regulars are admonished to pay due obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors. Still they persisted in their efforts. In Overijssel and Zeeland there were instances where the Jesuits, although insufficient in numbers for the work of the Christian

^g The dates are—June 23; Nov. 1665; Feb. 25, 1666; April 30, 1666; Jan. 26, 1664; Dec. 18, 1667; Aug. 3, 1669; Jan. 21, 1671.

priesthood, refused to allow the assistance of secular priests in their stations, preferring the loss of souls to the diminution of their own influence. A touching letter from the Catholics at Vlissingen^h, (Flushing,) to Adrian van Outheusden, sets forth some of the difficulties of those who were left to the care of the Jesuits. The object is to procure the assistance of a resident secular priest :—

and their
opposition
to the
Church,

“If any of the Catholics at Flushing is seized with illness, a messenger is despatched to the Jesuit Fathers at Middelburg. They come in a hurry, confess and communicate the sick man, and return to Middelburg. He thus remains, chained to his bed; and there is no priest to invoke the Divine grace upon him, nor to comfort him. Then we have old men and old women among us, who are not strong enough to get as far as Middelburg. Then the Jesuits dare not stay here, because the community at Middelburg, our good friends, would not consent to it; and the Catholics of Middelburg give them more money than we can do, by which the Jesuits are supported. Fourthly, if the weather is stormy or rainy, a man who would have gone to church stays at home, for Middelburg is an hour’s distance from Flushing. So, too, if anyone is ill here, and the weather is extremely unfavourable, the Jesuit Father stays at home, and thinks, ‘ALMIGHTY GOD will preserve the sick man till to-morrow.’ But, alas! that morrow often does not come,—as happened last summer in the case of two Catholics.”

He adds that, on the receipt of two hundred florins yearly, it had been promised that a Father would be supplied from Middelburg. It would appear that the money had been raised, but no priest made his appearance. The date is April 29, 1678. And this seems a fair example of the manner in which the Jesuit missions were carried on. The suppression of several stations by the Propaganda in 1669 en-

^h Def. Eccl. Ultraj., p. 499.

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oblige Van
Neercassel
to go to
Rome.

Van Neer-
cassel in
Rome.

raged the members of the Society to a higher pitch than ever, and the result was an accusation of Jansenism against the courageous bishop who thus dared to assert his own rights. The five articles delated by the Jesuits were declared by the Holy Office exempt from all censure; nevertheless Van Neercassel found it expedient to visit Rome towards the conclusion of 1670. M. de Pomponne, ambassador from the court of Versailles at the Hague, furnished him with letters of recommendation to Paris; and, fortified with these, and with similar documents from Christina of Sweden, from the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and from the Princess de Conti, he arrived in Rome Nov. 21, 1670.

10. He was received in the most flattering manner by Clement VII. and the principal cardinals, and had an offer of apartments in the Propaganda, though he preferred taking up his abode at the house of his tried friend the Cardinal de Medicis. A week after his arrival, he thus writes to the Chapters¹:—

“Our rivals asserted that I should never come here, either because my propensity to study would not allow me to give up the time necessary to the journey, or because my veneration towards the Holy See was not sufficient to induce me to undertake the fatigues of so long a pilgrimage. They now suffer for their mistaken opinion. I neither ought nor wish to conceal thus much in their praise,—that I am most officiously visited by them. Perhaps they think that I shall be fascinated by such testimonies of their benevolence and honour, or think that I am to be noticed at Rome, that Rome may be persuaded how much they have honoured me in Belgium. Whatever be the cause, they shew themselves in a very different light here from that in which they have appeared there. I entreat you to offer your prayers for me more frequently and more fervently than usual, that I may lack neither prudence nor fortitude, by which I may defend our common

cause in that place where talent is most practised, art most dexterous, and a way of acting is in fashion which is unknown to me, and to which I am altogether unaccustomed.”

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A little later he describes his first interview with the Pope, and the eager enquiries made by Clement as to the state of the Church in Holland. In subsequent epistles we find him expressing his gratitude for the timely assistance rendered by the great and good Cardinal Bona; Ottoboni and Caraffa were also among his warmest advocates; while Albizzi, a man of no very high character, “raged like a lion” against the clergy. In short, all that was then holiest and most learned in the court of Rome was on the side of the Church of Holland;—it may be a more doubtful compliment that the ex-Queen Christina was among its most zealous defenders.

His interview with the Pope.

11. Justice at length prevailed. By decrees of Jan. 25 and March 17, 1671, the Propaganda decided the principal points in dispute in favour of the Bishop, and he instantly prepared to quit Rome. It is said—but the truth of the assertion seems doubtful—that before leaving the Eternal City he was persuaded to set his hand to the Formulary. If he did so, it was simply in conformity with the Pacification of Clement IX., then in full vigour; but it was whispered that he never forgave himself for the weakness which induced him to sign a document of which he utterly disapproved. On his journey home, the same simplicity and piety appeared in his whole demeanour and equipage which had previously distinguished him. He was accompanied by but a single servant, one of whose duties it was to read to the prelate every night till he fell off to sleep. The plainness of his attendance excited great ridicule at the court of Rome, and *Questo vescovo sta in ristretto* was their comment. He never lost an

Van Neercassel triumphs over the Jesuits.

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opportunity of preaching, for which he had a peculiar talent. In travelling through the diocese of Münster, he was attended by crowds of auditors, an envious representation of which was made to the Prince-bishop. "So far," he replied, "from bearing any ill-will against my brother of Castoria for preaching to such a multitude of hearers, I glory in his having power to undertake a task to which I myself am incompetent."

12. On his return to Holland, our prelate became involved in new dangers, and animated by new hopes of usefulness. The States, at the commencement of 1672, found themselves engaged in war both with France and England. By the naval forces of the latter the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet was attacked; and the battle of Solebay, where the Earl of Sandwich fell on the one side, and Van Gent on the other, was

Invasion of
Holland by
Louis XIV.

fought with an indecisive result. In the meantime, the army of Louis XIV., swelled by the contingents of Cologne and Münster to the number of 170,000 men, and officered by such generals as Turenne and Condé, passed into the United Provinces. William of Orange had but 70,000 to oppose to this overwhelming force; his soldiers were demoralised by long peace; ammunition he had none; not a single Dutch officer was practically acquainted with the art of war; and the young prince, prudently resolving to defend only Holland Proper, abandoned Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht to the enemy. The city of Utrecht was surrendered, and the French troops occupied it during seventeen months. Most of the villages in the Sticht are celebrated for some bloody combat between the invaders and the native troops; fortress after fortress, and town after town, was won; but it was not till the loss of Naarden that the Dutch took refuge in the last terrible effort of patriotism. Opening the sluice-gates near

Muiden, they admitted the waters of the Zuyder Zee into the flat country, and by the barrier thus opposed to the invaders, Amsterdam was saved. In the meantime, the situation of the Catholics, however much improved for the time being, was one of considerable danger; for if the French should finally be expelled, any expression of sympathy or pleasure would undoubtedly be remembered against them. The cathedral was reconciled^k by the Cardinal de Boulogne on the 10th of July, 1672; Van Neercassel performed his functions as ordinary there; and his sermons were attended by a prodigious concourse of people. When the exactions of the French generals became intolerable, it was he who was requested to visit Paris, for the purpose of making the king acquainted with the state of affairs: he complied; but the events which occurred during his journey rendered it useless. The intolerable demands of the French and English aroused a deadly spirit of resistance. The former insisted on the surrender of all the frontier towns, and of many in the heart of the country, on a fine of twenty millions of livres, and on the annual presentation of a gold medal to Louis, with an acknowledgment that Holland owed her liberty to him. For the Catholics it was stipulated that the churches should be shared by them, and that their priests should be paid by the State. England demanded the sum of £1,000,000, a division of the Indian trade, and a surrender of the honour of the flag; a Dutch fleet, even on the Dutch coast, being expected to lower to the smallest British vessel.

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The Dutch open the sluices and admit the sea.

The cathedral of Utrecht reconciled.

13. It was resolved to re-abandon the country to

The Dutch renew their efforts.

* I looked in vain in the archives for any account of this interesting event in Van Neercassel's own correspondence. There is no trace of any letter which contains any par-

ticulars of the French occupation. Possibly, when it became evident that the city would have to be re-surrendered, it was thought more prudent to destroy all such documents.

C H A P. VII. the sea, rather than to accept of terms like these:

calculations were made, which proved the capability of the navy to transport 200,000 to the colonies: the Prince of Orange refused the offer of the independent sovereignty of Holland, on condition of abandoning the other provinces, and declared his determination to die, if need was, in the last ditch, for his country. Spite of the brutal murder of the De Witts, and the general despair, step by step the invaders were driven back, and the desultory war that continued was ended by the peace of Nymegen in 1678. When Utrecht was re-surrendered, the stipulations affecting the Catholics were as follows¹:—

1. Free exercise of religion.
2. Marriages celebrated between themselves during the French occupation to be valid.
3. Indemnity for all things said and done during the same period.
4. The priests to enjoy, in common with the ministers, freedom from the occupation of their houses by the soldiers. The cathedral was again given up to the Reformed worship.

Van Neercassel in exile.

14. Van Neercassel, while the war continued, did not think it prudent to return to his see. He took up his abode, first at Antwerp and then at Huissen, where he founded and directed a Diocesan Seminary, and where, in 1677, he held a provincial synod^m. His circumstances at this time were very much restricted; the more, therefore, is it to his credit that he should have refused so many offers of assistance. As early as 1664, he had declined an abbey which M. de Pontchateau had offered to resign in his favour. "I never," he writes, "will have any other bride than the afflicted Church which I serve: God makes me a better and a more certain offer than this, and I am rich enough in

¹ These stipulations I copied from a paper in the archives.

^m Tr. Hist. iii. 90.

the hope of heavenly rewardsⁿ." In like manner he declined a pension of a thousand crowns on the bishopric of La Rochelle, and shortly afterwards another, which was pressed on his acceptance by the Spanish ambassador.

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15. A series of useful works marked the period of Van Neercassel's retirement: his "Confirmation in the Faith" and "Consolation under Afflictions;" his treatise on "The Honour due to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints;" and his work "On the Reading of Holy Scripture." He also composed a treatise addressed to Dominicus Snellaerts, Canon of Ghent, on "The Validity of English Orders." Cardinal Cazanata had, for important reasons, requested to be furnished with the best information on the subject. Van Neercassel complains of his want of books; and as he appears to have assumed that Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin were simple laymen, he had little difficulty in deciding the question in the negative. It is well known that his illustrious friend Bossuet, who had studied the matter in dispute, never entertained the slightest doubt about the original validity of English orders, though, from some misinformation, he conceived that the apostolic line had been broken during the government of Cromwell. Our prelate's more celebrated work, the *Amor Pœnitens*, we shall presently have occasion to notice. While still in exile, he took a considerable part in that exposure of the corrupted morals of the Jesuits, which led to the condemnation of sixty-five of their propositions by Innocent XI., March 2, 1679.

His works.

16. About this time the territorial jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Utrecht was increased. In the year

ⁿ Yet, in spite of facts like these, D. Pitra can write (p. 247),—"Quant à Neercassel, il n'y a pas un seul de ses actes contre les réguliers qui ne

trahisse une secrète cupidité, et n'exhale l'odeur de cet *ararium* qui engloutissait alors toutes les ressources de la mission."

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VII.

Affair of
the pur-
chase of
Noord-
strand.

1678, Van Cort, who was Superior of the Oratory of Mechlin, and one of the most *prononcé* of the Augustinian party, found himself in danger from the overbearing Molinism of his archbishop. Now it so happened that the then Duke of Holstein was—as many of his successors have been since—in want of ready money: and he determined on selling the little island of Noordstrand, opposite Husum, in Sleswick. It is an island of pasture-downs, such as one of the patriarchs might have delighted to feed his flocks in. Van Cort purchased this island with the intention of removing all the Oratorians of his institution there, and of placing it under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Utrecht. Various obstacles interfered with the realization of the scheme. The island was repurchased by the Duke of Holstein (but it is doubtful if he ever paid the money); yet seventy years later a kind of colony was still in existence there, which professed ecclesiastical obedience to the see of Utrecht.

Arnauld,
'the Doc-
tor,' arrives
in Hol-
land:

17. In the spring of 1681, Arnauld, as we have seen in a former part of this history, came into Holland, and took up his residence at Veen, a village near the sea of Haarlem, and not far from Leyden. He thus writes to M. de Pontchateau of his journey:—

“We are now in the Fortunate Isles. I had imagined this country, according to what had been told me, as a swamp from which one could with difficulty extricate oneself, or heaps of mud and mire, like the village of which I wrote to you so piteously eighteen months ago. It is anything but that. There are everywhere neat little canals, by which you can go wherever you wish in a boat. But you can also go on foot, through streets as clean and dry as the walks of a garden. For they strew them with fresh sand every year,—or if they fail to do this, they are fined. They are, moreover, the best people in the world, almost all Catholics, and regarded as the most devout of all the Church of Hol-

land. They have two churches: one smaller, in the house of the priest, where they say mass every week-day at 8 o'clock; and the other larger, for Sundays and festivals. The service was said here very solemnly on the Feast of Pentecost, with music and symphony,—that is to say, organ and viols. There were a great many communicants, not only on the festival, but also the next day. The pastor gave the veil to four religious on the festival. There are seventy there. Is not that wonderful for a village? All that is necessary for the support of the priest, the church, and the poor, is not drawn from any fund, nor from any tax, but comes simply from voluntary offerings; and, nevertheless, they have very rich ornaments and beautiful plate.”

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his descrip-
tion of his
residence;

Arnauld, at a somewhat later period, in writing to the Mère Angélique, gives a pleasing picture of Van Neercassel's employments at this time:—

“He has since given us great apprehensions, for having been very ill, and not being yet quite recovered, he has been obliged to fatigue himself extremely in ordaining on different days; it has caused a return of the fever, which I do not think has quite left him yet. How flourishing the Church would be if she had many such pastors! One appears to be in the time of those ancient bishops who only distinguished themselves by the zeal and charity with which they guided their flocks, and in whom nothing of the world was seen. His retinue consists only of his almoner, who serves him as secretary and valet; but God gives him Timothies, Phœbes, and Theclas, with whom he almost always lives in a holy retirement,—which has something in it so gentle and so edifying, that all breathes of piety in this domestic church °.”

and ac-
count of
the Arch-
bishop.

The correspondence between Arnauld and the Bishop of Castoria was frequent and intimate:—

“Friday next,” writes that prelate on Oct. 6, 1682, “will be the day of our departure for Amsterdam, from whence we shall set off *peracto officio* to go straight to Thorenvliet^p,

° Arnauld, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 11.

^p The seat of Van Heussen.

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 VII. early on Monday morning.

“M. Van Heussen thinks that prudence, and even your convenience, demand that you should not go by the Delft boat, because there will doubtless be a great many people, for it is the time that the Jesuit students return to their classes. So that those only would be there who belong entirely to the Fathers. M. Gael could procure you a boat from Rotterdam, in which the principal cabin, and even all the boat, would be at your service. I pray you to consider this. Even the friends from Brussels, as M. Timothée [Van Heussen] assures me, have apprehensions about your coming in the boat from Delft.”

Question
 about the
 right of
 patronage
 to livings :

18. A dispute arose about this time, which at one period almost threatened the disruption of the Church of Holland. The right of presentation to livings, possessed before the Reformation by the lord of the manor, was claimed by those families which still retained the ancient faith, though the churches built and the revenues allotted by their ancestors had long since been appropriated to the maintenance of the Reformed religion. The places in which Catholic worship was now carried on had been built partly by collections, partly by the beneficence of individuals; and it seemed unjust that the Catholic nobility should claim a right, when the foundations on which that right had been established had perished. Rovenius, as early as 1650, had referred the question to four celebrated doctors of Louvain; and they in a “Consultation” had decided against the right of patronage. The question being once more mooted, Van Neercassel now obtained a second Consultation, signed by six of the same faculty, confirmatory of the former document. Those interested in the support of the corruption offered a *douceur* to Nicolas Dubois, a theological

professor at Louvain, whose pen was well known to be venal, if he would defend it. He did his best, but with such ill-success as to be compelled by the Inter-nuncio at Brussels to give in a retractation on Easter-day, 1683. Van Neercassel replied to this dissertation, little worthy of such an honour as it seems to have been. Rome acted vigorously on his side, and the nobility found their pretensions set at nought. In some few instances they called in the assistance of the Protestant magistrates; and this was more especially the case at Ryswick, where, on the strength of a decree fraudulently obtained from the Propaganda, the secular presenter endeavoured to intrude his nominee. That body, however, did in this instance what it scarcely ever does; it confessed itself deceived, severely rebuked M. Cibo, the secretary, and for some time refrained from addressing to him the despatches for Holland. Van Neercassel was completely triumphant.

troubles
excited by
the pa-
trons.

19. One of the doctors who had signed the Consultation^r at the request of the Archbishop, was afterwards to play a conspicuous part in the affairs of the Church of Holland, to sacrifice all his earthly interests to her welfare, and finally to die in her communion. This was ZEGERS BERNARD VAN ESPEN, then rapidly acquiring the reputation of being the first canonist of his own or of any age. We must devote a few lines to a brief account of his life, for his name is as a household word in the history which I am writing. But first we must try to imagine that quaint old city of Louvain as it was in the seventeenth century, with its forty-three colleges and its six thousand scho-

Com-
mence-
ments of
Van Espen.

^r All the documents connected with this affair will be found in the works of Van Espen, (Louvain, 1767,) tom. v. pp. 1—9. It was, on a small scale, what the late "Schism of Goa" was on a larger, with respect to the *Direito de Padroado*, claimed by the Portuguese monarchs.

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 Idea of
the Uni-
versity of
Louvain.

lars, its dark narrow streets swarming with the students that thronged the first school of canon law, its academical processions, its disputations for degrees, its sombre quiet, the more striking in the very heart of the "cockpit of Europe;" nothing talked of but this "Resolution" or that "Consultation;" an opinion of Van Vianen's, or D'Aubremont's, or Van Espen's, the subject of far more lively interest than a march of Condé's or a victory of Turenne's. Then those dull galleried rooms, crowded with their pale, sodden students, the endless lectures in the strict faculty of theology, or of that of medicine, of history, or of politics; the formal visits and learned discourse of the rectors of the various colleges,—the Falcon, S. Pulcheria, S. Willebrord, the HOLY GHOST, the Philosophers. This was the atmosphere in which for sixty years Van Espen lived and breathed, the very spirit of the place: each mail brought him cases for resolution, with its *Casus positio*, its *Quæstiones*, its *Quæritur ex superabundante*; not a post but went charged with his reply to this doctor or that chapter, to this university or that bishop: doubts were resolved on questions of marriage, excommunication, dispensations, compatible benefices, competence of jurisdiction, true intention, and the like,—with their *Ita resoluta*, their *Ita censeo*, their *Sic statuitur, salvo meliore*. Zegers Bernard Van Espen—his first Christian name was the maiden name of his mother—was born at Louvain in 1646, and passed through his university career with a singular reputation for purity of manners, as well as depth of learning. After his ordination to the priesthood, he was nominated to the professorial chair called "The Lecture of Six Weeks;" and on attaining his doctorate, in 1675, took up his residence in the college of the Pope, where he resided for the

twenty-six following years, profoundly immersed in the study of the canons and of ecclesiastical history. C H A P.
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20. Louvain was then the head-quarters of the teaching of S. Augustine, and the college of the Pope had the highest reputation in the university. Van Vianen, the president, Huyghens, who afterwards filled the same office, Van Espen himself, and Steyaert, who at a later period deserted the cause alike of S. Augustine and of his friends, were united in the bonds of the closest intimacy, taught with the same spirit, joined in the same consultations, and formed, as it were, a kind of standing synod to the whole of the Belgian clergy. It is related that De Berghes, Archbishop of Mechlin, holding at the commencement of his episcopate a general examination of his clergy for their collation to cures, was struck with the marked difference between the various candidates. "Where have these—and these—studied?" he enquired. "At the college of the Pope," was the reply. "I am perfectly aware," returned the good prelate, "that I have not myself the learning requisite for the due management of my flock; but at least my intentions are good, and I design to provide myself with the ablest counsellors. Who is president of that college?" And thus Van Vianen became the real head of the Belgian Church. The ecclesiastics formed by him and by Huyghens were known everywhere in their cures, not only for their sound learning, but for their piety. The doctors of Louvain had always prided themselves on their study of Holy Scripture; that of ecclesiastical history had been somewhat neglected. To this Van Espen applied himself with indefatigable diligence, and the whole university soon took its tone from his master mind. The employment of his day was simple and invariable. He was in chapel at five, and em-

High reputation of its students.

De Berghes, Archbishop of Mechlin.

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A day of
Van Es-
pen's.

ployed the two following hours in prayer. At seven he said, or assisted at, mass. Then he studied, or lectured, or attended disputations, till half-past one, when he dined. From half-past two till three he spent in prayer, usually in the garden of the college, and the rest of the day was given to study. On festivals he was always in his place in the church of S. Peter, of which he was *ex officio* canon, that office being attached to the Lecture of the Six Weeks. Forty crowns was the whole income which he derived from both; but he never would accept anything more, except that for five years he held a small canonry at Aire, in Artois. It was one of the pious customs of the college of the Pope, that there was a spiritual retreat annually for the ecclesiastical students. Van Espen's sermons on these occasions were so simple, so full of fervour and of unction, that the lay students, who were not in the habit of attending such exercises, were allowed, at their earnest request, to assist at these. He gave a weekly lecture on Ecclesiastical History; and amidst occupations enough to have crushed an ordinary man, was always remarkable for his cheerfulness and quiet gaiety, and for the liberal manner in which he placed his time at the disposal of his friends, and even of those whose dispositions towards him were less benevolent. Such was the man who will constantly appear on the stage as the chief defender of the afflicted Church of Utrecht.

Affair of
the *Amor*
Pœnitens.

21. While in his retreat at Huissen, Van Neercassel employed himself in the composition of his greatest work, the *Amor Pœnitens*. The corrupted morals of the Jesuits had fearfully and fatally injured the doctrine of Absolution. A man without contrition, without love to God, without a steadfast and sincere purpose of amendment of life, presented himself at the

tribunal of penitence,—confessed, or rather professed, his sin,—went away and relapsed,—again confessed, and was again absolved; nothing, in fact, was easier, as the Jesuits boasted, than confession so made and penance so administered. To counteract the poison of such teaching, Van Neercassel composed the work in question. Not only because it gave the handle to the first direct attack on the Church of Holland as a Jansenist communion, but from its intrinsic merits, I shall give a sketch of its contents before proceeding to relate its history^s.

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22. The author commences by establishing—and it seems strange that the lax morals of the Jesuits should have rendered it necessary to establish—that the duty of man is to love that God by whom he was created, redeemed, regenerated; that he can never fail in this duty without offending his Maker, nor return to His favour without returning to that. That a man who does not love God remains in sin, of whatever sacraments he is made partaker; and that this more especially holds true of the sacrament of Absolution. That, hence, the servile fear of hell, in conjunction with either baptism or penance, does not suffice to justification. That remission of sin is only given to those who turn from it, not to those who remain in it; that freedom from sinful acts is not sufficient, unless the heart be also free from evil desires; that to the obtaining of pardon contrition is necessary, by which is meant not only sorrow for past, but a firm resolution against future, sin, which resolution cannot be stable without the love of God as a ruling principle. That sin cannot truly be said to be hated when it is only hated from the fear of hell. That the ceasing from sin, even of

Idea of the
work.

^s The first edition of this work That which I use, however, is the second, Emmeric, 1685.
was published at Utrecht in 1683.

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Pœnitens,
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thought, requires no slight and feeble exercise of the will. That it is impious to assert that it is not a necessary duty of every Christian to love God, but merely not to hate Him^t. That, in order to be justified, a man must love God as the source of righteousness, and not merely of temporal prosperity. That the covenant entered into at baptism is a covenant of love; and hence the great difference between the Jewish and Christian dispensations; the one being a law of fear, the other of affection. Hence the Bishop considers the validity of death-bed repentance, than which, according to his Jesuit opponents, nothing was easier, and shews that, in the teaching of the Fathers, it was always held in the highest degree perilous and unsatisfactory; in support of which assertion he brings forward the testimony of one whom his enemies could not well refuse to hear,—Scotus. He proceeds to discuss the sentiments of S. Thomas on the general question of the necessity of the love of God to justification, and then that of the later school divines; and triumphantly shews that they coincided with his own. He next proves, in opposition to Luther, that the fear of hell, though insufficient by itself to justification, is not sinful; and that though contrition be necessary to valid absolution, it is not necessary to valid confession. Discussing the nature of contrition, he shews, with S. Thomas of Villanova, that grief for sin, to render it worthy of that name, must have these

^t Most readers will remember the remarkable irony with which Pascal discusses these assertions of the Jesuits. The propositions which Van Neercassel quotes are these,—the first condemned by Alexander VII., the other by Innocent XI. :—1. "No man is bound to elicit an act of faith, hope, and charity at any time of his life, *ex vi* of the precepts pertaining to those virtues." 2. "Whe-

ther he sins mortally who only once in his life elicits an act of love to God, we dare not define." 3. "It is 'probable' that, rigorously speaking, the precept of love to God does not *per se* bind a man once every five years." 4. "It only binds then when we are under obligation to be justified, and have no other way of being so."

five conditions,—it must be pure, pious, deep, perpetual, and especial for each remembered fault. He then cites the more illustrious of the Jesuit writers to evince that the fear of hell, joined to the sacraments, is not sufficient to justify; shews that the opposite doctrine was never taught at Trent; that the Fathers of Trent did not teach, as it had been asserted, that the fear of hell, conjoined with the sacrament of Penance, is sufficient to justification; but only that this fear, in and by itself, does not render the sinner more sinful; that the sacraments of the new law confer grace only on those who love it; that no wise man desires to be free from the necessity of loving God, the exemption from such love being no privilege, but a disgrace; that love may supply the absence of the sacraments, but sacraments can never supply the absence of love; that none can be excused from the precept of love, if it were only on account of its ease and pleasure; that, in other matters, God bestows different abilities on men; but in the power of loving Him, all are equal. Hence the writer proceeds to the calumnies of Lutherans, and then defends the Diocesan Catechisms of several of the dioceses of Germany and Belgium from the attacks of various modern writers,—as those of Cologne, Mayence, Liège, Merseberg, Trèves, and those of Peter Soto, Richardot, and Frederic of Nausea, Bishop of Vienna: he also treats of the sentiments of Eckius and Gropper. He next explains S. Thomas's method of reconciling the efficacy of contrition with the power of the keys, goes through the teaching of Gratian, the Master of the Sentences, Albertus Magnus, and S. Bonaventura, and proves them all to have taught that true contrition in and by itself justifies the sinner even before absolution. Next he treats of those passages of Scripture which are

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twisted by Protestants against the Catholic doctrine of merit, especially : "When ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants;" "Doth he thank that servant?" "If Thou, LORD, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O LORD, who may abide it?" "In Thy sight shall no man living be justified." Hence he proceeds to the marks of true repentance, with which he concludes the first volume. In the second he considers the question to whom absolution is to be given; when to be deferred, and when to be denied. He enters at large into the question of conversion, and cites the teaching of many of the Fathers on that subject; replies to the objections of laxer casuists against deferred absolution, and to the passages of Scripture on which they are grounded; discusses the question when it is necessary that absolution should be preceded by satisfaction, and when not; urges at great length the reception of S. Charles Borromeo's "Instruction to Confessors" as their code of laws, and ends by proposing ten rules for the salutary administration of the sacrament.

Such is a brief outline of this famous work, a work which gave occasion to a lengthened correspondence between the author and Arnauld, who suggested corrections and amendments, adduced fresh arguments, and cited other passages from the Fathers.

23. It was foreseen that in the lax system then prevalent on the subject, violent opposition must be expected to the published work. It came forth, therefore, fortified by a prodigious number of approbations and opinions. Foremost are those of Arnauld of Angers, Fouquet of Agde, Montgaillard of S. Pons. In the Low Countries, several of those who afterwards distinguished themselves in the struggles of the Church of Holland also approved. Thus I find the names of

Approba-
tions pre-
fixed to
the *Amor*
Pœnitens.

Lindeborn, the celebrated historian of the bishopric of Deventer ; Staekenberg, so long vicar-general ; Codde, afterwards archbishop ; Van Erkel, the most able and resolute of all the national writers, and afterwards dean ; Van Heussen, the author of the immortal *Batavia Sacra* ; and De Swaen, Dean of Haarlem.

24. On the appearance of the work it was received with a general burst of applause. "It is an admirable composition," says Cardinal Grimaldi. "It is," writes Casoni, "the very doctrine of the Fathers and of the Church, and can be opposed by none but by such as call darkness light and light darkness." "It must be admired," says Cardinal le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, "by every one who has any acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity." "Your teaching," writes the Eagle of Meaux, "of the necessity of divine love, at least commenced, is most excellent and most necessary at this time." De Berghes, Archbishop of Mechlin ; Genet, Bishop of Vaison ; Leyton, Vicar-apostolic in England ; and De Choiseul, Bishop of Tournay, characterized it in the same terms. De Seve, Bishop of Arras, whose pastoral epistle on the subject was approved by thirty prelates of the Gallican Church, speaks of Van Neercassel after his death as "that most excellent pastor who so courageously defended in this book the cause of the Catholic faith."

25. The correspondence of Arnauld with Van Neercassel, and of both one and the other with their agent, M. de Vaucel, at Rome, was lengthened and important.

"Libri," writes the Bishop, Jan. 14, 1684, "de amore pœnitenti necdum in urbe allati sunt, de quo multum doleo. Heri accepi libellum" qui ei oppositus est a viris mihi non

"The title was *In librum cui* DIVINI AMORIS AD PENITENTIAM
titulus AMOR PENITENS, SIVE DE NECESSITATE, &c. AUCTORE JO-

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ignotis. Necdum totum percurrere potui. Quid tibi, V. C., de illo videtur? Respondendum ne illi? Et si respondendum, quâ ratione id optime fiet? Omnia exemplaria libri de AMORE PÆNITENTE distracta sunt. Nonne expediet ut negligatur libellus iste, donec in secundâ Editione AMORIS PÆNITENTIS detur locus amovendi difficultates, quas iste libellus apponit? Tuum, Vir Clementissime et amicissime, de his judicium libenter audiam^x."

On the 29th of the following April M. de Vaucel thus writes from Rome to Arnould:—

"The *Amor Pœnitens* begins to create a sensation. The P. Van-Eik^y highly approves of the first part, which is on the love of God; but as to the second, which is *de recto usu clavium*, he pretends that it carries things to an extremity which is likely to cause scruples to some consciences, and to trouble the Church. M. Casoni has requested, through the interposition of Cardinal Cazanati, that he would give his objections in writing, that they should be sent to the Bishop of Castoria to explain them, or that he may pay such attention to them as he shall think proper in the new edition that he intends to publish. Time may be gained by these means, and the Father is prevented from making a sensation, and from giving vent to his natural vehemence and impetuosity^z."

On the 22nd of July De Vaucel again writes:—

"I do not wait for the next post to write to you, being very glad that you should know what passes touching the *Amor Pœnitens*, and that M. Gotterindi (M. Van Neercassel) may be also informed of it through you. The second part is not now so much spoken against as the first, which is that which we always thought would be the most exposed to chicanery and calumny^a."

He proceeds to speak of the composition of the

ANNE EPISCOPO, CASTORIENSI, *Animadversionum Decas prima, per Joannem Peresium Theologum*. Moguntiae, typis viduae Nicolai Heyl. (75 pages in 12mo.)

^x Arnould, vol. ii. p. 382.

^y An Augustinian Father resident at Rome, and a moderate Molinist. He was afterwards silenced.

^z Arnould, vol. ii. p. 414.

^a Arnould, vol. ii. p. 441.

Roman Inquisition with great apprehension ; says that there were only four or five cardinals of whose approbation he felt certain ; but that a letter from Cardinal Grimaldi was daily expected, and would be of great weight in the defence of the book. Arnould replies, Aug. 14, 1684 :—

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Difficulties
about the
Amor
Pœnitens.

“ Your last letter, I confess, made me somewhat nervous ; but I soon regained my confidence. I cannot believe that under a Pope so excellent, and who has hitherto evinced so much zeal for the purity of Christian morals, so great a scandal should arise in the Church of God. For it would assuredly be a very great scandal that a book so pious and so solid, written by so holy a bishop, should be branded by a condemnation from Rome, at the solicitation of some religious who are known to be his declared enemies.

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae.

“ Nothing could more rejoice the heretics, or give them occasion to insult the Catholics with greater insolence. I have been sufficiently long in this country to know the mission of Holland, especially regarding the secular clergy. I have seen nothing more edifying ; and I do not think that in a country of the like extent, there are so great a number of good pastors in any other part of Christendom. Yet I know that a great part of this is due to the care and vigilance of their bishop, both for the pains which he has taken to admit those only into the priesthood who were able subjects, and who had a decided vocation for it, and for having worked with indefatigable zeal to prevent any disorder from creeping in among them—those even which are more easily tolerated in certain countries, because they are more common there. The example of his holy life, and entire devotion to his ministry ; the wisdom of his conduct, which has gained him so much esteem even among Protestants, and the fervent exhortations which he often made in different places, have spread abroad everywhere with so much efficacy, that which S. Paul calls the sweet savour of JESUS CHRIST,—that nothing appears to me more horrible than the endeavour of those who would

change this savour of life into a savour of death, by traducing the doctrine of this excellent prelate by their false accusations. But God will dissipate their evil counsels, and a single word of the chief vicar of JESUS CHRIST will appease this temper, by imposing silence on their turbulent spirits^b.”

Difficulties
of Le
Camus.

26. In replying to difficulties raised by more friendly critics, Van Neercassel gladly availed himself of the learning of his friend :—

“The Bishop of Grenoble,” says De Bellegarde, in his edition of Arnauld’s letters, “after having borne testimony that he had read the book of the *Amor Penitens* with great consolation, and that he had remarked in it a depth of solid doctrine with which some vicious men and relaxed confessors could not agree, but which all those who have any taste for antiquity, and any love for the Church, admire very much, points out four particular places “upon which,” he says, “some persons of piety would have desired a little explanation.” 1. On the difficulty of reconciling his opinion regarding the efficacy of attrition with the Council of Trent, which imagines a contrition which cannot alone justify the sinner, but which can do so with the sacrament. 2. On the custom of the ancient Church of submitting all mortal sins to public and canonical penance. 3. On the discipline of the Church, in the first ages, of never giving the sacrament of Penance twice to a great sinner. 4. Finally on that which is said, that the greater part of the Christians, in the first ages, kept their baptismal innocence. M. Van Neercassel, in his answer, gave the Bishop of Grenoble the explanation which he desired on these four points in such a manner, that the answer formed a treatise rather than a letter. It was sent on the 16th of February in the same year.”

Letter of
Cardinal
Grimaldi.

27. The letter of Cardinal Grimaldi, so earnestly expected by De Vaucel, at length arrived. It is dated from Aix, Oct. 13, 1684, and is worthy of that illustrious prelate^d :—

^b Arnauld, vol. ii p. 446.

^c Arnauld, vol. ii. p. 489.

^d The original Italian is given by

De Bellegarde: Arnauld, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 524, note *a*.

“I hear that the *Amor Pœnitens* of the Bishop of Castoria has been attacked in Rome, and I am persuaded that his Holiness will honour this prelate with his particular protection, for his noted virtue, learning, and extraordinary merit, and for the great service which he renders to the Catholic Church of Holland, and in the conversion of heretics; whence it may be believed that his Holiness would not allow our religion, and the person of this worthy bishop, to receive such a deep wound as would be the case if he were disgraced by the condemnation of his book. I must, moreover, respectfully allude to the fact that, although the censure passed by his Holiness on so many relaxed propositions may have been received with infinite rejoicing by almost all the faithful, there are nevertheless several who have not submitted to it without pain, and they are precisely those who cavil and make themselves the adversaries of this book; which (as those theologians that I have near me inform me) is a wonderful work, approved by all the most learned men, and the doctrine is neither new nor dangerous; but on the contrary, entirely agreeable to the sacred canons, to the holy decrees of the chief pontiffs, to the sentiments and to the practice of S. Charles, and of all the good bishops of France. The great evil of the present day in the Church, as his Holiness knows as well as and better than I do, is that of relaxed morals, and it is this evil towards procuring a remedy for which he applies himself in every way. Suppose the Bishop of Castoria had a little exceeded the just mean in defence of the impugned truth, in common with many other great men; it would be sufficient merely to warn him of it, as we are certain that the singular humility of this good bishop would willingly submit to advice; although I can assure you that his book does not want favour, but justice, since the author advances nothing which is not founded on the authority of the holy fathers, and the councils, and declares that it is not his intention to re-establish the rigour of the ancient canons, but only to make known the rules which confessors ought to follow, that holy things may not be given to dogs, and to explain with edification the merits of JESUS CHRIST in the sacrament of Penance. The love which we ought to have for the Church, and which is known to be so great in your-

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self, has moved me to beg you to represent respectfully in my name to his Holiness that which I take the liberty of mentioning in this page, hoping that his Holiness will have the kindness to impose silence on the opposers of this book, as is to be desired for the reasons and consequences assigned."

"Van Neercassel," writes De Bellegarde, in his edition of Arnauld's letters, "took a journey to Brussels at the end of May, where he deliberated at his ease with M. Arnauld and his companions in retreat, on what was to be done touching the *Amor Pœnitens*. 'The great respect that I have,' says this prelate, in his letter to M. Ernest of the 23rd of May, 'for the counsel of your father, (M. Arnauld,) and your brothers, (M. Arnauld's companions in retreat,) has made me resolve to return to Brussels, to enjoy their conversation and counsels. They will then consider the letter to the Pope, and a refutation of the libel of the Jesuit Faber^o.'"

Outcry
raised a-
gainst the
work.

28. It is thus that the most furious of Molinist books, the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, speaks of the *Amor Pœnitens*; (it would seem that the author found some difficulty in discovering any passages on which to found his favourite accusation of heresy). "This is the same Bishop of Castoria whose treatise called *Amor Pœnitens* was condemned at Rome" (which it never was) "by Alexander VIII. 'Do you imagine,'" says M. Arnauld, in his work against M. Steyaert, "'that after the *Donec corrigatur*, which you call the solemn decree of the Pontiff, we are obliged to take the excellent book of this holy prelate for a wicked publication?'"—and this is all that our author seems to be able to say against the treatise in question.

On all sides, the indignation with which this work was received by the Jesuits amounted to frenzy. Its clear, fluent style, so different from the jargon of their then fashionable writers, its apt quotations

* Arnauld, vol. ii. p. 527.

from their own authors, its appeal to undeniable decisions of the Holy See, its calm exposure of the portents which Bauny and others had obtruded on the Christian world, filled them alike with dismay and rage. It was, of course, denounced at Rome; and the old cuckoo-cry of Jansenism was raised against its doctrine. The Congregation drew up an informal decree, which forbade the distribution of the work, "*till corrected*." Innocent XI., however, forbade the publication of that decree. "The book is a good one," said he, "and the author is a saint^t." In the meantime the *Amor Pœnitens* sold well; and Van Neercassel resolved on defending his teaching and improving the work itself. One hundred and seventeen propositions had been extracted for censure; the Archbishop composed an Apology in their defence. Faber the Jesuit attacked the work, but could find only eight statements which he qualified as erroneous. Van Neercassel silenced him in a Reply. Cardinal Cappizzuchi pressed for the absolute condemnation of the book; and Vaucel, Van Neercassel's agent at Rome, refuted this Molinist. During the brief remainder of Van Neercassel's life, he was disquieted no more on the subject; but in 1690, under Alexander VIII., the suppressed decree was allowed to be made public, in spite of the strongest remonstrances from the friends of the then deceased prelate. As, however, that decree merely forbade the circulation of the work till it was corrected, and as it had been corrected for the second edition, it may be doubtful how far that edition was affected by the decree in question. A French translation of it, under

^t *Il libro è buono e l'autore è un Santo*. The author of the infamous *Dictionnaire* calls this "une fable inventée par le parti." It stands on

M. Vaucel's authority, who speaks of it as current in Rome; and it was never contradicted till many years after, in the *Causa Quesnelliana*.

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the title of *L'Amour Pénitent*, appeared in 1740, in three volumes, duodecimo.

Troubles
conse-
quent
on the
Revocation
of the
Edict of
Nantes.

29. The last persecution to which the Church of Holland has been subjected by the State broke out in 1685. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes excited the greatest indignation throughout the United Provinces ; vast numbers of the refugees found an asylum there, and by their tales of hardship and cruelty excited popular feeling into a kind of frenzy. Walloon congregations sprang up everywhere, and have existed to this day. It was seriously contemplated to forbid all exercise of the Catholic worship throughout the States ; in the North, the Catholics were heavily taxed for the support of the French fugitives ; while those of Holland proper and West Friesland not only saved themselves from this impost, but won the confidence of the magistrates by coming forward with a ready and handsome contribution. In the province of Groningen, always the most bigotedly Protestant, the Catholic nobles were deprived of all jurisdiction, lawyers forbidden to plead, and merchants, in some instances, to pursue their trade. In the town of Groningen, a Klopje, who had procured Catholic baptism for a nephew, was thrown into prison, and only released on payment of a fine of 400 florins. At Leeuwarden, a brother of the pastor was torn in pieces by the mob. At Utrecht, Arnheim, and Zutphen, priests were banished or heavily fined. At Amsterdam, where Van Neercassel himself resided, and where James II. of England possessed considerable influence, far greater lenity was shewn ; and it was to the intrigues of the Jesuits that the magistrates of that city principally turned their attention.

State of the
Church,
1685.

30. But all these troubles, as the Archbishop wrote, exercised rather than afflicted the faith. There were

at this time about five hundred thousand Catholics in the United Provinces ; three hundred secular and a hundred and twenty regular priests. The dioceses of Utrecht and Haarlem were the most flourishing part of the province ; in the former, the metropolis had thirty priests ; and only two out of the thirty-two principal towns were without any. So well regulated were the clergy, that when two were sent to do penance in a monastery out of the country—one for drunkenness, the other for a sin of impurity—there was as great a sensation through the whole province, as if a portent had happened. Of the Regulars, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites worked well under the Bishop of Castoria ; the eighty Jesuits alone still maintained themselves, often in secret, sometimes in open, opposition to his authority. Strangely enough, the only part of the province where the clergy were ill-regulated, was that in which alone the Catholic religion was openly tolerated, Guelderland and the Duchy of Cleves. The benefices here were in the gift of the Elector of Brandenburg, who disposed of them to the highest bidder, and simony was followed by every kind of licentiousness. At the collegiate church of Emmeric, the provost was always absent, the dean always intoxicated, the canons always on the point of reformation, but never reformed. The convent of noble Canonesses at Elten was always in a disgraceful condition ; but this was taken from the Archbishop's jurisdiction in 1677.

31. In the spring of 1686 Van Neercassel determined to undertake the visitation of the eastern portion of his province. It is said that he left Amsterdam with the presentiment that he should never return ; he arranged his worldly affairs before leaving the city, and his letters to Cardinal Altieri and

Last visitation of
Van Neercassel.

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to his agent Vaucel, at Rome, convey his impression that the end of his days was near.

The diary left by this devoted servant of God during his last journey is so interesting, that I shall give it entire. I searched for it in vain among the Archives, but it seems that the fragment left us is all that was ever committed to writing^e :—

He visits

“We set off from Leyden—Van Heussen, Pesser, and myself—on the 24th of April, after I had delivered a sermon to the priests of Rhyndland, in which I recommended to them the doctrine which is according to purity, and union in it.

Aneland-
der-veen,

The same day I exhorted the priests in Aneland-veen to be unanimous in sound doctrine, and to be lights to the people both in word and example. We stayed one day at

Utrecht,

Utrecht, and saluted some friends and fellow-servants in the work of the LORD, and the gathering in the harvest of souls.

Huissen,

“April 26. We happily reached Huissen, and were there received with great affection, especially by the Sisters. The magistrates waited on us,—though the burgomaster is not a Catholic.

“April 27. Heard several of the Sisters.

“April 28. We preached to a great multitude of the neighbouring Catholics; I in the Great Church, Van Heussen in the Oratory of the Sisters. The same day administered the sacrament of Confirmation to some hundreds of men.

“April 29. Preached in the Oratory to those that were to be confirmed, and strengthened them with that sacrament.

“April 30 was altogether taken up in hearing and examining the religious, whom I found penitent for their rebellion against episcopal government, and at the same time glad that they had not been able to reject it. The same day confirmed some, commencing with a short instruction and exhortation.

“May 1. Preached in the Great Church, and Pesser in

^e It is printed in the Bat. Sacr. ii. 487, 488.

the Oratory of the Sisters ; conferred the sacrament of Confirmation on a large number, all of whom received it with great devotion. C H A P.
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“ May 2. Preached to the Sisters, and exhorted them to seek and love their LORD JESUS, as the Fountain of all consolation and righteousness. Admonished the father of his office.

“ May 3. Set out from Huissen for Emmerick ; visiting the parishes of Loo, Groetsen, Duyven, Zeventer, and Elten. In all these churches found good parish priests ; and exhorted the people to serve God faithfully. Preached at great length at Zeventer on the words, ‘ Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world.’ Administered the sacrament of Confirmation to about 1,400 there. Citizens and labourers everywhere received us with joy, and came to meet us with a banner.

“ May 4. At Emmerick. Visited by the clergy and the better citizens in the convent.

“ May 5. Preached in the archidiaconal church at Emmerick, accompanied thither processionally by the clergy and people. Some eight or ten thousand present. Confirmed nearly two thousand ;—the Communion of the LORD’S Body given to a prodigious number.

“ May 6. Preached in the convent ; confirmed and communicated about three hundred.

“ May 7. To Weel ; where from Doesburg, Dotinchem, Zutphen, Deventer, and the Veluwe, and from various parishes of the province of Zutphen, a huge multitude had assembled, and a good many priests. Celebrated, and preached on the words, ‘ I am the Vine, ye are the branches.’ Confirmed about 2,000. The same day, some countrymen of the province of Zutphen interceded for a priest, infirm through age, and suspended for six years,—that either he might be allowed to say mass, or have a pension assigned him on which he might live, and in his retirement take thought of his salvation.

“ May 8. At Emmerick. Confirmed about 100 men in the convent, after preaching. Heard the greater part of the Sisters.

“ May 9. At Emmerick. Again preached to those that

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came to be confirmed from Uift and Genderink. Heard the rest of the Sisters, and exhorted them to act up to their profession. Bade farewell to the canons, and the fathers of the Society.

Bochold, "May 10. Had the Sisters together into the choir, and exhorted them to follow a life answerable to their vocation. Found many of them to be of deep piety, none of dissolute life, or deviating from chastity. The same day gave the tonsure to a few candidates; grieved for it, since I expect but little fruit. Left Emmerick; went by Anhold, and slept at Bochold.

Glan, "May 11. Received with great charity by the Bernardines in Hogenbrialo; who lent us their carriage and horses to go to Glan, which we reached late at night.

"May 12. Preached before a large audience, and administered the sacrament of Confirmation to about 1,400 catholics.

"May 13. Preached again, and confirmed as many as yesterday.

"May 14. Came a priest of Deventer to me, with a Minorite, resident in the Veluwe.

"May 15. Consolated the Sisters in Glan under their poverty, and the sufferings by which they are oppressed; and presided at the election of a prioress. Sister Columba Terhoent chosen.

"May 16. Confirmed about a hundred men. Their devotion truly admirable: the continued and heavy rain did not deter them from a long, muddy journey. The same day bade farewell to the priests; called the Sisters together, reminded them of their duties, and heard their confessions. The Sisters at Glan, pious, chaste, and simple-minded, thoroughly content in their poverty.

Lingen, "May 17. Celebrated, (confirmed one of the Sisters,) and came to Lingen.

Dermpt. "May 18. At Dermpt, near Lingen. Celebrated, preached; confirmed about 300 persons. The chief inhabitants of the place, not Catholics, present at the sermon."

32. Here the diary ends. Pesser had continued it, but his account, unfortunately not printed by Van

Heussen, is not to be found in the Archives. It appears that Van Neercassel and his companions, having reached Dermpt, bent their course westward to Hardenberg; and thence, probably by the Vecht, to Zwolle, the capital of OverysseL. It was now the end of May, and the weather was unusually hot. The Bishop had scarcely reached this town, when he was seized with a fever, which the physicians soon pronounced mortal. On Thursday, in Whitsun-week, the 6th of June, after confessing and communicating with great devotion, he departed this life; drawing his last breath just as the attendant priest was reciting the words, "He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the flour of wheat." The bystanders not unnaturally thought of that peace into which the deceased prelate had entered, and that vision with which he was indeed satisfied. On the following Tuesday the funeral procession left Zwolle; Pesser, and Van Weire, the Bishop's faithful and attached servant, accompanying the corpse; Van Heussen; Terhoente, arch-priest of the district; Staekenburg, a deputy from the clergy of Utrecht; and Van Blokhoven, following in another carriage. After a journey of seventeen hours, through a country where they had expected molestation from Protestant prejudices, they reached the convent of Glan; and there, on the next day, they committed their beloved prelate to his rest in the same choir where, but twenty days before, he had pursued his labours as a good servant of CHRIST. Fourteen priests were present; others would have been so, had not the services of the following day, Corpus Christi, detained them at home.

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Death of
Van Neer-
cassel:

33. Thus, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his episcopate, died John Van Neer-

his cha-
racter.

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cassel, the last Archbishop of Utrecht who departed this life in the communion of Rome. Worn out by incessant labours, harassed by the disobedience of inferiors, troubled by fightings without, and annoyed by discussions within, the Church, he bore the burden and heat of the day manfully, and no doubt entered into his rest gloriously. "Blessed is that servant, whom his LORD, when He cometh, shall find so doing^h."

^h The epitaph, still to be read on his tomb, is not without its beauty:—

"Ecclesiæ et Veritati
vixit:

illi pascendæ, isti tuendæ
immortuus.

Veritatem

sic deperit, ut uni placere studeret:
sic docuit, ut unctio docere videretur:
sic defendit, ut victorem semper faceret.

Ecclesiæ

regendæ onus tremendum

quod horruit vocatus,

subiit invitus,

gessit indefessus,

oppressus pondere diei et æstus

cum vitâ deposuit."

The Jesuits, of course, attacked

the memory of the deceased prelate, and had *their* epitaph too: "*Qui nova hujus dogmata sectaris, ejus exitum perhorresce.*" Van Heussen very promptly answered by his *Scarabæus a tumulto depulsus*. D. Pitra has lately endeavoured to excite a prejudice against Van Neercassel, by printing *des feuilles qui sont venues entre nos mains*, and which he attributes to Van Heussen. D. Pitra has, he says, carefully examined the archives: he must, therefore, know that Van Heussen's hand is so peculiar as to render it quite impossible to doubt whether a piece be, or be not, of that author's.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SEE VACANT. 1686—1689.

PETER CODDE, SIXTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT,
UNDER THE TITLE OF ARCHBISHOP OF SEBASTE. 1689—1710.

1. As soon as ever the news of the prelate's decease reached Utrecht, great anxiety was felt as to his successor. Van Neercassel's own wish had been for Van Heussen^a:—

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"Others," says Arnauld, writing on the 13th of June to De Vaucel, "think that among those who might be nominated to the Pope, he would not find any more able than M. Van der Meer, priest of the Béguinage of Amsterdam, and M. Mouland, priest of La Haye, who is his confessor. The latter is a very good man, whose principles are excellent, and who has much firmness, but who is more persuaded than anyone that he must abide by the choice of the late Bishop of Castoria: so that it is from him, who has given intelligence of what he had known, that the prelate's intention has been learnt; he himself is very far from consenting to be elected. But as to the former, he might have so good opinion of himself as not to be sorry that he had been thought of; but he is quite unfit for this charge: he would never be accepted by the two Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem, which will assemble next Tuesday to decide upon the person to be proposed; and as it is certain that all the Chapter of Utrecht will continue to demand M. Van Heussen, it is hoped that that of Haarlem will do the same.

Anxiety
felt as to
Van Neer-
cassel's
successor.

"A letter was received this morning from M. Van Heussen, from Zwolle, by which he informs us that all differences about the interment of the holy prelate are at an end, and that he intends to set off on Tuesday, at 3 o'clock in the morning, to carry the body to the monastery of the religious

C H A P. of the diocese of Münster, of which I have already spoken to
VIII. you ^a.”

Hugh
Francis
Van Heus-
sen elected
Arch-
bishop.

2. The Chapters met at Gouda on the 18th of June, 1689, and unanimously elected Hugh Francis Van Heussen, canon of Utrecht, and the inseparable companion of the late prelate, to the vacant see. A native of Leyden, he was then in the 34th year of his age; he enjoyed considerable reputation as a preacher, was usually spoken of by Van Neercassel as his “Timothy,” and had two sisters who were well known, and had laboured usefully, as Klopjes. To the universal Church he was afterwards to become famous by his *Batavia Sacra*, and his *Historia Episcopatum Federati Belgii*, both works which place him in the very first rank of ecclesiastical antiquaries:—

“You will learn,” says Arnould to De Vaucel on the 21st, “by my letter of yesterday, what God has the goodness to do for the welfare of the mission, by the wonderful union which exists between the members of the two Chapters of Utrecht and Ilaarlem, to demand of his Holiness for his successor the person whom the late Bishop had chosen, and who certainly, all things considered, is the most fit. It is quite true, and it is not affectation, that he shrinks from it very much, as he said to his illustrious friend in the letter which he wrote to him, and which he has just shewn me. But you know well, that far from paying regard to his repugnance, this ought the rather to induce his Holiness to further the desires of a clergy who do so much honour to the Catholic religion, and who, next to the grace of God, owe a part of their great regularity to the care that the illustrious deceased has had for them.”

As early as 1682 he had been chosen by the Chapters, coadjutor and future successor of Van Neercassel; and the Court of Rome had made some little demur as to the right of the canons to the election of their

^a Arnould, Œuvres, vol. ii. p. 678.

own prelate. These objections having been removed, the affair of the *Amor Pœnitens* succeeded; and that also having been composed, Innocent XI. was about to confirm the nomination, when the Jesuits denounced certain theses of Van Heussen's, on Grace, on the Love of God, on Canonization, maintained at Louvain in 1677, as heretical. This work passed the ordeal, and then the author's enemies accused a Treatise of Indulgences, published by him in 1681, of heresy. While the book was under consultation, Van Neercassel was called from the world; and on the election of Van Heussen, the Congregation of Cardinals for the affairs of Holland decided on re-examining not only the treatise, but also the theses. In the meantime (July 10, 1686), the Chapters elected Peter Codde and John Lindeborn as Grand-Vicars,—the see vacant. Of Codde we shall have to speak in the sequel; Lindeborn is now best known as the author of an able and accurate *Historia Episcopatus Davenriensis*.

3. The examination of Van Heussen's works resulted in their condemnation by a decree of the Congregation, May 15, 1687. The document was so hurriedly put forth, that more than one grammatical error was detected in it; and the indignation with which it was received in Holland was excessive. Van Heussen himself addressed to the Pope an apologetic letter^b, which may be regarded as a model of such compositions; and besought him, in the words of Holy Scripture, "not to quench my coal which is left, and not leave to me either name or inheritance upon earth." The decree was recalled, but the mischief had been done. One breath of suspicion in the matter of Jansenism, or Richerism, was enough to ruin the best

Difficulties
as to his
confirmation.

^b Van Heussen prints it himself: Bat. Sacr. ii. 508.

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prospects of a vicar apostolic; and the clergy saw and felt the full danger of their position. They met at the house of Catz, at Gouda, on the 27th of July, and debated on the course to be pursued. It was finally resolved, without withdrawing their postulation of Van Heussen, to name three other of the clergy to the Pope's choice. Those thus selected were Peter Codde, Pro-vicar of Utrecht; Joseph Cousebant, Pro-vicar of Haarlem; and William Schep, who had formerly filled that office.

Character
of Couse-
bant,

4. Cousebant was best known as an eloquent French preacher; he had been an able assistant to Van Neercassel, in his arrangement of the question of mixed marriages. He was now Rector of the Béguinage at Haarlem, and much beloved there; but his age, his broken health, and violent attacks of the gout, rendered him less qualified for the charge^c. Schep was a hard-working parish priest at Amsterdam; at a later period he wrote, in Dutch, a little "Explanation of the Catholic Faith," which had a good sale. The enemies of the Church of Holland accused all four of Jansenism, and of adherence to the four celebrated Gallican Articles of 1682, than which nothing could be more offensive to Papal ears. The Congregation of Cardinals—Azolini, the great protector of the clergy, being accidentally absent—excluded Van Heussen definitively on Sept. 29, 1687, and further determined that the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Holland, and Zealand should be attached to the vicariate apostolic of Bois-le-duc, the rest of the United Provinces being put under the government of an ecclesiastic to be recommended by the nuncios at Cologne and Brussels. Had this scheme taken effect, the Church of Holland would have come to an end. But

^c Bat. Sacr. ii, 333. He died at Haarlem, Ap. 12, 1695.

the Cardinal of Norfolk waited on the Pope, and used the influence which the proceedings of James II. gave him at Rome, in defence of the secular clergy. Innocent XI. annulled the arrangement, and the cardinals made a second choice. This time it fell on Van der Mey, rector of the Béguinage at Haarlem, a well-meaning but weak man, and infirm through age and sickness. Cardinal Howard again interfered, and the cardinals were again obliged to yield.

5. There was one Adrian Van Wijck, pastor of the village of Ketel, near Delft, a man of quarrelsome disposition, and scarcely respectable character, but a creature of the Jesuits. They now recommended him for the vicariate, and accompanied his name with an eulogy, "which," said Cardinal Colonna, "I should scarcely have felt myself justified in attaching to S. Ambrose or S. Augustine." At a later period he published seven small treatises on "Grace," filled with such rank Molinism, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the party to defend them, they were placed in the Index. When this attempt was known in Holland, the Chapter of Utrecht determined on sending a procurator to Rome to defend their rights; that of Haarlem was more lukewarm in the matter; and here for the first time we find that disposition to yield to the overbearing influence of Ultramontaniam, which at a later period separated the Cathedral from the Metropolitan Chapter. Nothing daunted, however, the Canons assembled in Van Heussen's house at Leyden,—Lindeborn only was absent from illness,—and discussed the question, who should be their messenger? Van Heussen himself was proposed; but he observed that^d, though he shrank from no trouble in the service of the Church, and though his ample

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Intrigues
of the
enemies of
the Church
of Holland.

Meeting
of the
Canons.

^d Bat. Sacr. ii. 511; De Bellegarde, 201.

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means made the expense of such a legation a matter of no importance, still, under the circumstances, such a journey would expose him to a charge of ambition which it would not be easy to rebut. He then mentioned, and subsequently introduced, one who afterwards exercised a most important influence on the history of the Church of Holland,—Theodore de Cock, second pastor at Leyden. A pupil of the Propaganda, he would on that account be the more acceptable at Rome; and his perfect acquaintance with Italian was an advantage not to be undervalued. At this time he was supposed to be, and probably was, entirely in the interests of the clergy; and on the mission being proposed to him, he declared his readiness to accept it. Van Heussen entertained the canons and others interested in the cause of the clergy at a farewell banquet; and De Cock (May 11, 1688) set forth on his journey.

De Cock's
mission to
Rome.

6. After waiting on his Holiness^e, and on the principal cardinals, De Cock set himself to work to expose the character of Van Wijck; and this he did so effectually, that the Jesuits ceased to press his appointment. One effort more, however, they made. They proposed John Staer, Provost of Maestricht, a man who had no other merit than that of being a boon companion of the Prince of Orange, and having solicited his influence for the dignity. “Who in their senses,” wrote De Via, Internuncio at Brussels, “could have thought of such a bibacious fellow for the episcopal dignity?” This scheme having failed, De Cock, assisted by Godfrey Luffy, attached to the hospital *de animâ* at Rome, to whom by this time the Chapter

^e The letters from the Chapters, and the choice made of De Cock, are related in Bat. Sacr. ii. 509, 510; the proceedings at Rome are most

fully given in Tract. Hist. i. 337—355, and in the *Relatio oblationis Rom.* of Theodore de Cock.

of Haarlem had sent its procuration, drew up a memorial on the mischief that was arising from the long widowhood of his Church. He found, however, that the cardinals were utterly unacquainted with the details of the affair; and it at length struck him that some documents must have failed to reach them, or must have been suppressed. The secretary of that congregation was Cibo, who, as we have seen, was a creature of the Jesuits. This man was always ill when De Cock demanded to see the communications that had been sent on both sides from Holland. At length, by the intervention of Cardinal Colonna, they were produced; and it then appeared that all the missives from the clergy had been systematically suppressed by the secretary. Indignant at having been thus duped, the cardinals resolved to hold a congregation without further delay; and it was accordingly convened for the 20th of September.

7. Cardinal Azolini spoke first^f, and gave his vote for Van Heussen, on whom he pronounced a very flattering eulogy, and expressed his opinion that the condemnation of the Treatise of Indulgences was no bar to the episcopate of the author. "Nor do I think it one," said Altieri; "and were Van Heussen the only ecclesiastic proposed, I also would vote for his nomination. But we have a list of four, and it seems to me that our business is to choose, not merely a good, but the best subject." "I am of that opinion," subjoined Ottoboni. "This being the case, then," said Colonna, "let us examine the respective claims of those submitted to our choice." He went through the list, and, after assigning his reasons for excluding three,—the Treatise of Van Heussen, the infirmities of Cousebant, and the age of Schep,—he ended by

Peter
Codde
nominated
to the
Vicariate.

^f Relatio, p. 180; and Bat. Sacr. ii. 511.

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giving his vote for Codde. Casanati first, and then Howard, followed his example. "If Van Heussen is to be excluded," said Azolini, "I also record my vote for Codde;" and Altieri and Ottoboni gave in their adherence to the judgment of the rest.

The news
received in
Holland.

8. Letters from Rome reached Van Heussen on the 14th of October. He tore them open in great agitation, terrified lest the choice should have fallen on himself; and when the first few lines announced the election of Codde, he exclaimed joyfully, "Thou hast broken my bonds asunder: I will offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving." Then, calling his family together, he led them into his oratory, and gave thanks to God for his deliverance from so great a burden. "I would have hastened at once to Utrecht"—so he wrote the same afternoon to Codde—"to see you and to congratulate you, had I not been engaged to the Discalceate Carmelites to preach for them tomorrow (S. Theresa's Day)." It was his freedom from the load so nearly imposed on him which enabled Van Heussen to erect those imperishable monuments to the Church of his country, the *Batavia Sacra*, and the *Historia Episcopatum Fœderati Belgii*.

Sketch of
Codde's
previous
life.

9. Peter Codde was born at Amsterdam on the 27th of November, 1648. He entered the congregation of the Oratory at an early age, and pursued his studies with success both at Louvain, at Paris, and at Orleans. His tenets on the Augustinian controversy then raging may be sufficiently gathered from the schools in which he had been brought up; and a casual acquaintance with Van Neercassel soon ripened into a warm friendship both with that prelate and with Van Heussen. With the former he resided during the period of his voluntary exile at Huissen, and afterwards had a cure at Utrecht. Here he pub-

lished a vernacular translation of Bossuet's *Exposition de la Foi Catholique*, and was one of the most popular preachers whom Holland had for many years produced. On repairing to Brussels for his consecration, he was exposed to the first of the many vexations that were to exercise his troublous life; the faint forerunner of that terrible storm which so soon burst on him and on the Church which he guided. He was requested by the Internuncio De Via to sign a document condemnatory of the tenets of Jansenius. This was the celebrated Formulary, though not known to Codde as such, albeit, as he partly confesses, he suspected as much. "The Jansenian controversy," said the prelate-elect, "is one which I have not considered; the terms of this document seem to me peculiar; and I should wish to consult with my friends before I set my name to the paper." On this De Via said that the matter was of no importance, took the paper from Codde, and turned the conversation. The danger seemed to be passed, but it was only in appearance. Codde was consecrated, under the title of Archbishop of Sebaste, on Septuagesima Sunday^g, Feb. 6, 1689. In his first pastoral^h he earnestly entreats the prayers of his clergy:—

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His con-
secration.

"I could wish you," he writes, "to consider that the supplications which you offer for me will redound to your own salvation. If God, in answer to your intercessions, give me the power of rightly holding the rudder of this bark, so much the more will be gained for your well-being, who are fellow-voyagers with me in the same ship. If you obtain from the mercy of the Almighty, that I am sanctified with the copious dew of His divine anointing, it cannot be but that the same will flow down upon you; and the more that,

^g The consecrators were De Berges of Mechlin, De Beugem of Antwerp, and Van de Perre of Namur.

Bat. Sacr. ii. 514.

^h It is given at length in Bat. Sacr. ii. 515.

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through your intercession, constancy of faith, purity of love, sincerity of peace, shall abound in me, the more faithful and prudent a servant shall I be in this great family, of which you are the first-begotten sons, and the prosperity of which ought to be your glory and your joy."

10. It was thus that Codde commenced his episcopate; and it will now be convenient, before the great disruption of the Church, to see what was her condition as to numbers, and her arrangement as to local jurisdiction. The relation furnished by Codde himself to the Propaganda in 1701 will be a safe guide.

State
of the
Church,
1701.

He reckons the inhabitants of the United Provinces at 2,000,000. Of these, 1,500,000 were of the established religion, Calvinism as developed by the Synod of Dort; 330,000 Catholics; 160,000 Mennonites, (Anabaptists); 80,000 Lutherans; 70,000 Socinians, or Deists; 60,000 Remonstrants; 25,000 Jews. All the sects, except Socinians, were publicly tolerated; and the same liberty was, in point of fact, allowed to the Catholics. The ancient placards were not abrogated, but it was understood that a small sum contributed annually as hush-money to the officials would prevent any enquiry after the pastors and their places of religious worship. In Amsterdam, where liberality went further than elsewhere, this money was no longer paid. Permission was there sometimes accorded to erect a new church, and, both in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, Catholic worship was performed with some degree of pomp. The six dioceses were divided into seventeen arch-presbyteries: six in that of Utrecht, five in Haarlem, three in Deventer, one in each of the three others. The archdiocese contained nearly as many Catholics as all the others put together; their number was reckoned at 159,000, the parishes at 160, and the secular clergy at 117. The

conversions were, on an average, about 250 per annum, but the apostacies amounted to 150; and this was one of the consequences of the ill-feeling engendered by the greater part of the Regulars in their intruded missions.

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11. Continual complaints were forwarded to Rome of the Jansenism of the new Archbishop, and—even a more formidable accusation at the Papal Court—of his attachment to the four Gallican Articles of 1682. As early as 1691 these charges had assumed a serious shape, and in the autumn of that year the constant vexations to which he was thus exposed, and his indefatigable labours for the Church, threw Codde into a dangerous illness. He was given over by the physicians, received extreme unction, and the same day dictated and signed a memorial or protestⁱ, dated “3 P.M. Sept. 29,” in which he affirmed, on the word of a dying man, that the accusations of heresy so liberally dealt out against himself and his clergy were utterly groundless:—

Codde's
dangerous
illness,

“I pray God,” says this remarkable document^k, in broken and protest. Latin, “that this my dying testimony may make me to find credit before our holy Father and the cardinals: the one thing I would ask from them is this—that they would condescend to appoint for my successor a native of these provinces, and one to whom the clergy are attached, because I know the detriment to the Church, and the loss of souls, which any other arrangement will involve.”

He recovered, and the death of Alexander VIII., after a pontificate of sixteen months, deferred the attack. But Mollo, a creature of the Jesuits, then resident at the Hague, and Cardinal Albani, insisted so pertinaciously on the charges made against the Archbishop, that Innocent XII. appointed a Congre-

ⁱ Bat. Sacr. ii. 517.

^k Declaratio Apologetica, p. 22.

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gation of Cardinals for their examination, and himself undertook its presidency. The result was the absolute and unconditional acquittal of the Vicar-Apostolic.

Intrigues
at the
Congress
of Ryswyk.

12. This defeat seemed to stimulate the ardour of his enemies, and the negotiations for the peace of Ryswyk gave them an opportunity of a second attack. Doucin, one of the most influential personages at the congress, and the intimate friend of the notorious Tellier, was attached to the French embassy, and threw himself warmly into the struggle. He composed and circulated a "Memoir on the State and Progress of Jansenism in Holland," which was widely distributed, and copies of which were despatched to Rome. Codde and his agent, De Vaucel, wrote letter after letter, and composed memoir after memoir, in defence of the Church of Holland, but in vain. It was afterwards known that, in the Congregation of Sept. 25, 1699, the cardinals, under the presidency of Albani, (declining health rendering the Pope incapable of taking a part in the investigation,) came to a secret resolution of suspending Codde, and substituting Theodore de Cock in his place. This man soon found that zeal in the cause of the Church of Holland was not the way to promotion at Rome. Little by little he had given in to its adversaries: there had been an intrigue, as early as 1688, to raise him to the vicariate apostolic of Haarlem, and now he had rendered himself worthy to supplant his early friend and benefactor. One difficulty alone remained: it was so monstrous a thing to suspend an archbishop, the head of a great national Church, for an accusation twice heard and rejected at Rome,—that some other form of examination and trial seemed necessary. But then the express privilege accorded to the Church of Utrecht by Leo X., and on which I have already dwelt at length,

seemed to render such an evocation to Rome impossible; from local judges there was no hope of obtaining a condemnation. C H A P.
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13. The jubilee of 1700 was drawing on, and it was determined to invite Codde to attend it. Nothing more flattering, nothing more gracious, than the invitations of the Propaganda and the Internuncio at Brussels. If the Archbishop did not mind the fatigues of so long a journey, the pleasure to his Holiness would be so great,—the testimony of his own devotion to the Holy See so complete and so touching,—the advantage to the Church of Holland so enormous. Not—God forbid!—that the slightest imputation rested on M. Codde's character; but still, something *had* been whispered, the Regulars *had* made a few unpleasant remarks, a visit to the threshold of the apostles would set everything to rights, and the cardinals would rejoice to embrace so eminent a prelate. The poor Archbishop understood well enough what all this meant. The only question was, whether it were more dangerous to go or to stay, to accept or to decline the proffered honour. In an evil hour for himself and his Church, he determined on the journey. Foreseeing, however, the consequences which might be its result, he resolved on appointing four vicars-general, or, as he called them, Pro-Vicars: I presume to avoid the constant use of the same word in two different senses,—i. e. *vicar*, as applied to himself and to them. Catz, Dean of the Chapter of Utrecht, and Van Heussen, were constituted Pro-Vicars for the archdiocese, and the dioceses of Deventer and Middelburg; Van Groenhout, a canon, and De Swaen, Dean, of Haarlem, for that diocese and those of Leeuwarden and Groningen. This appointment must be especially borne in mind, as the key to the

Codde is
invited to
Rome.

His diffi-
culties.

C H A P. VIII. scheme of which we shall almost immediately have to speak.

Codde's
journey
to Rome:

14. The Archbishop kept a diary of his journey to Rome, and residence there¹. It is preserved in the archives, where I have perused it; and if ever there were an example of a heart made sick by deferred hope, certainly these pages exhibit it. He left Amsterdam on the 21st of September, 1700; paid a visit at Leyden to the celebrated Heinsius; proceeded by way of Maestricht to Aix and Cologne; and reached, by way of Frankfort, Augsburg, where he spent the festival of All Saints. He arrived at Venice on the 17th of November, and having "seen what was to be seen"^m there, he again proceeded by Florence to Rome, reaching the Eternal City on the 11th of December. Here the whole aspect of affairs was changed. Innocent XII. had died at the end of September, and Cardinal Albani, the creature of the Jesuits, had been elevated to the papal throne under the title of Clement XI. However, his reception of the Archbishop (Dec. 20) was extremely graciousⁿ, and on the 31st of the following month^o he had a second interview, which was equally satisfactory. A special Congregation of three cardinals, Marescotti, Tanara, and Ferrari, was instituted by Clement for the examination of the question at issue; and we find in the Archbishop's journal occasional notices^p of their proceedings in the palace of the first-named dignitary.

his recep-
tion.

¹ It is a small octavo, of (in all) 288 pages, prettily written, but somewhat difficult to read.

^m "Nov. 18. Venetiis vidimus videnda."

ⁿ "Dec. 20. Post meridiem fui in Palatio Vaticano, humanissime ad colloquium S. P. Clementis XI. admissus: et ab eo humanissime acceptus fui."

^o "Jan. 31. Mane admissus fui ad

Papæ colloquium, quod valde fuit benevolum."

^p e.g. "March 28. Post meridiem in palatio Card. Marescotti super rebus nostris habita fuit congregatio, quæ satis diu duravit." And again: "April. 11. Mane fui in palatio Card. Marescotti, et longius de rebus nostris colloquium habui. Post meridiem fui apud Card. Ferrari, de simili colloquium habens."

15. Time passed on. Fresh annoyances met Codde at every step: the metropolitan of a great national Church was exposed to vexatious interrogatives, harassed with continual memorials, and so grossly insulted by Fabroni, secretary to the Congregation, that the Pope interfered. The weather was intensely and unnaturally hot^a; the Archbishop, in that sultry summer, occupied himself in replying to accusers whose names were never communicated to him, and to accusations at which he could only guess. There had arrived in May a series of charges, signed by twenty-five missionaries, against Codde and the secular clergy. These were never laid before that prelate, but shortly afterwards he had the satisfaction of communicating to the Congregation a remarkable document, which bore the signatures of 300 of his priests. It sets forth, that no novelties were taught or endured in the Church of Holland; that the faith of Peter, as there preached by S. Willibrord and S. Boniface, was professed and maintained:—

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VIII.

Charges
against
him:

“Unless,” the memorial indignantly continues, “some of our adversaries call *this* a novelty,—to uphold, intact and entire, the doctrine of S. Augustine and S. Thomas; and that not for the sake of party, but of edification; and to endeavour to carry out the discipline of S. Charles Borromeo, which has been received with such applause by the whole Church, and, as we are informed, in Rome itself.”

protest in
his favour.

It concludes with a bitter complaint, though without specifying the persons, against the authors of these troubles. The document is first signed by the four pro-vicars: Catz, Van Heussen, Van Groenhout, and De Swaen. Of the rest of the subscribers, the best known are—Van Erkel, afterwards the admirable de-

^a “June 22. *Ædibus egressus non neque unquam, ut dicunt, magis fui. Calor hodie fuit ad 78 gradus, quam ad 80 gradus ascendit.*”

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fender of the Church of Utrecht; Potcamp, subsequently vicar-apostolic; Steenoven and Van der Croon, in due time themselves archbishops; Kemp, the vernacular historian of these troubles; and Kryss, to whom the Church was eventually indebted for the continuation of its succession^r.

The Arch-
bishop is
acquitted;

but is
neverthe-
less sus-
pended
from his
office.

16. The memorial, however, was without effect. A Congregation of ten cardinals was now instituted to consider the Archbishop's reply, and the consulting theologians were selected from the creatures of the Jesuits. Notwithstanding this, in December, 1701, the question of Codde's innocence being put to the vote, the Congregation divided five and five^s, and Clement is said to have determined on his acquittal, and to have been on the point of authentically publishing that determination. But the machinations of his adversaries procrastinated the publication; and so well did they employ the time thus gained, that on the 13th of May a brief was despatched to Theodore de Cock, by which he was appointed to the office of Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the United Provinces, in the place of Peter Codde, deposed from all exercise and administration of the said vicariate apostolic. It is said that the members of the Congregation were amazed at the issue of this brief, and asserted that they were in no way responsible for its appearance. Silence as to their proceedings was immediately imposed on them by apostolic authority, and under pain of excommunication; so that the truth of this point will never, probably, be learnt. It appears, however, that the brief was kept a secret at Rome: no notice of it occurs in the journal till the entry of the 6th of July: "We

^r This memorial, and the signatures, are printed in the Batav. Sacr., ii. p. 518.

^s This is stated in Codde's diary, from the Pope's own information, Dec. 26, 1701.

heard to-day from Holland, and were astonished at the intelligence we received respecting De Cock." When the news was made public, indignation, even on the part of Ultramontanes, was unbounded. Here, they said, was the head of a great national Church suspended by the mere will of the Pope, his accusers never named, their charges never communicated, his faults not even specified in the instrument of his disgrace. It was a *stet pro ratione voluntas* which appears to have staggered the most thorough-paced advocates of Papal supremacy. It was further observed that, crying as would have been the injustice of such a summary dismissal from the vicariate apostolic, the outrage was intensely aggravated by the fact that the brief evidently contemplated the prelate's archiepiscopal as well as vicarial functions, as involved in the same sentence. Hyacinth de Archangelis, a famous Roman canonist, even published a "consultation," in which he designated the whole proceeding as null and void.

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17. The course of events must now carry us into Holland. War was raging over Europe, and the messengers between Rome and Utrecht found but a precarious and tedious journey between the forces of Boufflers and Villars, of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The brief of suspension did not reach Bussi, Internuncio at Brussels, till the 8th of June; and he then, in the curtest of notes, announced to the Chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem the appointment of De Cock^t. They conjointly replied on the 16th^u. The news, they said, had struck them with consternation. Their excellent Archbishop was said to have been suspended on the 13th of May; but they had letters from him, dated on the 27th of that month, in which no

Proceed-
ings of
Bussi.

^t Broedersen, Tract. Hist. i. p. 361.

^u Tract. Hist. i. 362.

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VIII.

Corre-
spondence
between
the Pro-
vicars and
the Inter-
nuncio.

allusion was made to the circumstance: there must be some mistake. They were ready to exhibit all possible submission to the Holy See, but it might be allowed them to despatch an express to Rome, to learn the truth of the matter. The Internuncio was polite but firm. So convinced was he, he wrote on the 21st, of the piety of the Archbishop of Sebaste, that nothing, he was sure, could be more painful to that prelate than any appearance of contumacy on the part of the Chapter. They had only to obey, and that at once^x. The Chapters were not intimidated. After quoting ancient precedents to shew that such a reasonable hesitation could never be accounted contumacy, they add, "To confess the truth, we hold ourselves bound and obliged by the divine law, and by the precepts of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, to defend, by every honest and lawful means, the innocence of our good Archbishop." They add, that De Cock himself had acquiesced in the justice of the delay for which they petitioned. The letter is of the 4th of July; but it was in vain that they quoted Alexander III. to the Archbishop of Ravenna, and cap. *Veniam*, q. 9, c. 35. They had only the right, and their adversary had the power. At first more gently, and then, on the 26th of July, more vehemently, De Cock insists on his acknowledgment as Pro-Vicar. It must be confessed that, in the conclusion of his last communication, he speaks in the most straightforward manner^y:—

"Do you hear, Reverend Sirs? All your pro-vicarial authority is at an end; and I declare, by these presents, that it ceases and has ceased. It is therefore in vain that you style

^x Tract. Hist. i. 363.

^y De Cock himself calls this "a most urbane epistle:" "Die 21," (Broedersen dates it 21; the letter itself bears date 26,) "Julii scripsi ad Pro-vicarios epistolam urbanissi-

mam." My ideas of urbanity differ from De Cock's. His letter to the Congregation (Nov. 10, 1702) is given in Erkel's *Apolog. Arch. Seb.* p. 154.

yourselves in your letter of the 16th, Pro-Vicars of Utrecht, Middelburg, Haarlem, &c.: and *I* subscribe myself, your C H A P.
VIII.
very obedient servant,

“T. DE COCK, *Pro-Vicar Apostolicus*.”

18. The Chapters met, and it gave an earnest of their future courage and firmness that, under circumstances so threatening, and in dangers so imminent, all were present at their post. The single exception was John Roos, of the Chapter of Utrecht. His heart was with his brethren, but the age and infirmities of eighty-two detained him at Delft. His own history was somewhat remarkable. He had been brought up as a Remonstrant, but attending a sermon of the celebrated theologian of that sect, Simon Episcopius, and hearing our LORD'S divinity stated as an open question, he was led to examine the grounds on which that system was based, and finally joined the Church. His “Pious Meditations on the Lord's Prayer,” written in Dutch, were long esteemed. The Chapters agreed on a memorial to the See of Rome, in defence of their Archbishop^a; they were seconded, a month afterwards, in an address signed by thirty-five of the leading laymen of the diocese of Utrecht^b. A third party, however, now entered the controversy. The Provicars published a pastoral, in which they explained the reasons which hindered them from acknowledging the authority of De Cock; though, at the same time, they permitted the publication of the Bull of Jubilee with which he was charged. This made a strong impression against the vicar-apostolic: in some places, the adherents of the two parties ceased from commu-

Proceed-
ings of the
Chapters.

^a Tract. Hist. i. 367. The first of De Cock's letters is dated June 24, but it must have been kept back, or the Chapters could not have asserted, on the 8th of July, that he

was in favour of the delay which they asked.

^a Tract. Hist. i. 368.

^b Tract. Hist. i. 372.

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Placard
against
De Cock.

nicating with each other, and there were here and there popular outbreaks. The States of Holland, on hearing of these disorders, summoned before them Van Erkel, as one of the most eminent among the clergy, to explain the circumstances of the case. The result was a placard, dated Aug. 17, 1702, by which De Cock was forbidden to exercise any jurisdiction over the Roman Catholics of Holland. To this edict, however monstrous an interference in spiritual affairs, De Cock, whose vocation was not martyrdom, paid a most prudent submission, and contented himself with the assertion that his opponents must have purchased its issue at considerable expense. The Chapters communicated the placard to Rome, and a correspondence ensued. On the 2nd of December, 1702, Cardinal Paulucci addressed a letter to De Swaen, without any acknowledgment of his title as Dean of Haarlem, and to his "fellow Presbyters," instead of to The Chapter; an alteration which was, at the time, thought accidental, but which was soon found to involve a consideration of the greatest moment. For on the 25th of the following January, Bussi, writing to De Swaen, begins his letter thus :—

The Inter-
nuncio de-
nies the
existence
of the
Chapter of
Haarlem.

"Heavy will be his judgment, the theologian or canonist, who shall venture to assert that you have any Chapter at Haarlem; for such a declaration can emanate only from gross or affected ignorance. Considering these things," this remarkable document proceeds, "I charge you never to dare, in future, either under the name of the pretended Chapter of Haarlem, or under any other colour or pretext, to act in a similar manner; and furthermore, I desire that you will, without delay, retract what you have already done. Otherwise you will not escape the hands of the Lord, and the sins of the people will fall upon you, because when the little ones cry to you for bread, you offer them a scorpion."

And yet this was the same Bussi who, writing only seven months before, had addressed the clergy of Utrecht and Haarlem as “so illustrious Chapters^c.” Well might De Swaen begin his reply, “I was never more amazed by any letter than by yours of the 25th.”

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19. In the meantime, the Archbishop's situation at Rome became very critical. He was indeed under no kind of restraint, and had even permission to celebrate, but the most menacing rumours were afloat as to his intended fate. The Jesuits gave out in Holland that he was in the hands of the Inquisition; that he would be imprisoned for life; that he would be beheaded; that he would be burnt: and though he himself could entertain no similar fear, yet he certainly was little else than a prisoner at large. Yet as late as Nov. 28, 1702, Massoulié, Secretary to the General of the Dominicans, thus writes:—“The Archbishop of Sebaste is daily expecting the termination of his cause. Whatever has been objected to him on the score of doctrine, he has entirely explained. He has published a reply to all the accusations brought forward against him, in which there is nothing that can be blamed^d.” It so happened that three among the burgomasters of Amsterdam were his nephews, and by a resolution of Feb. 24^e, the States commanded Codde's return within three months: if any opposition were made by the Court of Rome, the Jesuits would be banished from the country, and De Cock would be detained a prisoner in his own house. This prospect alarmed the *soi-disant*

Critical
situation of
the Arch-
bishop.

The States
of Holland
command
Codde's
return.

^c Tract. Hist. i. 363. “Indelebilis nota vestris tam præclaris Capitulis inuretur.” The date is June 21, 1702.

^d Erkel's *Defensio Arch. Sebasteni*, p. 57.

^e Bellegarde, p. 237. This date

is not easy to be reconciled with what Codde says himself, that on Feb. 6 he had permission to return, on account of having been claimed by the States; yet, under March 23, he refers to Feb. 24 as the day in which the resolution was passed.

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He is honourably
dismissed
from Rome,

Pro-Vicar. He wrote to the Holy See, entreating the Archbishop's return; and permission was accordingly given by Clement. He was most honourably received by those of the cardinals on whom he waited; the General of the Dominicans gave him a circular, filled with the highest eulogies, to every house of his order; and the ambassadors of the Emperor, and of the republic of Venice, especially recommended him in their passports. At length, on the Thursday in Easter-week, April 12, 1703, he left Rome for Venice^f. His companions were, as they had been during the latter part of his stay, Cornelius Steenoven, (his future successor,) Theodore Donker, and Jacob Kryss, of whom we shall hear again; William van Campen, and the prelate's faithful servant, Michel le Raisier. Partly by way of change after his long confinement, partly to avoid the French armies, then ravaging Belgium and the Rhine, they went by Loretto and Venice to Vienna, then through Moravia and Bohemia to Dresden, and so by Osnaburg to 's Graveland, where they arrived on the 27th of June.

and arrives
in Holland.

First
threaten-
ings of the
schism.

20. On Codde's return, he found everything in the wildest confusion. The two parties virtually abstained from each other's communion. De Cock still pretended to exercise his authority, but within a few weeks was in exile. He had had the imprudence, in his communications with the Court of Rome, to affirm that the secular clergy had procured the placard against himself by a bribe offered to the States, and actually paid to Herr Van Duivenvoorde, their President. Naturally indignant, the States offered a reward

^f The last entry in that volume of Codde's journal is "Ap. 12. Româ, postquam 2 annos et 4 menses ibi moras parum gratas nectere coactus fueram, decessi circa horam matutinam. Socios itineris habui D.D.

(as given above). Mater Salvatoris et omnes Sancti et Sanctæ votis per J. C. iter prosperum a Deo imperantur." Another volume relates his journey, and ends June 30.

of three thousand florins for his capture ; and afterwards sentenced him to exile. He retired to Em-
CHAPTER VIII.
 merick, and thence, after some time, to Rome ; where he was rewarded for his exertions in the Ultramontane cause by a canonry in S. Laurence. While he still maintained his claim, the Chapter of Haarlem consulted Van Espen as to its own duties and rights. These stood on a different footing from those of Utrecht. Haarlem had no bishop ; and the Pro-Vicar Apostolic might therefore claim a jurisdiction here which he could not in the metropolitical diocese.

21. The result was the celebrated *Motivum Juris pro* Van Es-
Capitulo Cathedrali Haarlemensi ; the first of the works pen's *Motivum Juris*
 in which the great canonist openly supported the *pro Capitulo Haarlemensi*.
 rights of the oppressed Church of Holland. He here lays down the principle that, (even granting, which he does not grant, that the simple pro-vicariate apostolic could override the rights of a chapter, the see vacant,) at the captivity or exile of a bishop, his jurisdiction reverts to the Chapter, as much as if the see were vacant ; so De Cock's authority, if he ever had any, had now returned to the Chapter ; and that they not only might, but were bound to, defend their rights. A reply having been attempted to this work, Van Espen rejoined at great length in a masterly and crushing manner, with the appropriate motto, " We vindicate the inheritance of our fathers." Both these " Resolutions^s" were adopted by De Swaen in the name of the capitular body.

22. Three methods of proceeding were now open to Courses
 Codde. The first, entire submission to the Court of open to
 Rome ; a free acknowledgment of De Cock's juris- the Arch-
 bishop.
 diction, and retirement into private life. But this

^s The first is in the fifth volume of Van Espen's works, pp. 351 to 359. The second, pp. 359 to 381.

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VIII.

would have been to betray the rights of his Church ; to desert those who, through evil and through good report, had faithfully clung to him ; and to afford to Ultramontane principles the most complete and perfect triumph. The second was, distinguishing his archiepiscopal from his vicarial authority, to continue quietly in the exercise of the former—appealing, however, for greater caution against the sentence by which he had been deprived of the latter. This was the advice of Van Espen ; and the march of events shewed its wisdom. But it was replied, that such a course would inevitably produce a schism ; that tender consciences would be wounded ; and that some, even among the most attached friends of Codde, might not be willing to follow him into an open rupture with the Court of Rome. So argued Quesnel ; and as the advice suited the naturally modest character of the Archbishop, he was probably the more willing to follow the third course open to him—retirement from the actual exercise of his office, under protest against the injustice of his suspension. We now, however, can see that the bolder would also have been the safer counsel. A schism was almost inevitable ; and the Church of Holland would have entered the struggle with more numerous and more spirited friends, had she been spared the long and weary suspense which succeeded the determination of Codde. Having taken this resolution, the Archbishop announced it to his diocese by a Pastoral Letter of March 19, 1704 : it was followed by a decree of the Roman Inquisition, condemning the declarations and replies of that prelate while at Rome, and written three years before. Codde rejoined by a second Pastoral, which remained without reply.

The Archbishop's
Pastoral
Letter.

23. The question of jurisdiction was also warmly debated. On Codde's abstaining from exercising his

functions, and virtually giving up the government of his diocese, the authority of his four pro-vicars, derived from him, also came to an end. The spiritual jurisdiction therefore reverted, according to all principles of canon law, to the Chapters, and they re-appointed the Vicars as before. This was highly offensive to the Court of Rome; and the Internuncio had orders to communicate, without observing any form of law, a sentence of suspension to Catz, the first of the four; and this sentence, in spite of a promise to the contrary, was made public at Utrecht. Catz immediately protested against the nullity of such a procedure, and continued tranquilly at his post. It may not be amiss to say a few words of this eminent divine, as the first who came into actual collision with the Court of Rome. Born at Gorcum in 1639, and the intimate friend of Van Neercassel, he had been put in nomination as his successor, and subsequently was appointed by Codde to the incumbency of the largest church at Utrecht, and to the management of the Béguinage there. In these offices he laboured indefatigably; and when to them was added that of Pro-Vicar, the increased fatigue undermined an originally strong constitution. He died, after three months of great suffering, in 1712.

24. The greatest fidelity and courage were at this juncture more especially necessary. The Chapter of Haarlem, weary of a contest which promised increasing fatigue and danger, came to a resolution by a plurality of voices, while perpetuating its own existence, to do no capitular act. Thus, after, at the outset, having displayed even more courage and energy than that of Utrecht, this Church deserted her afflicted sister, gave way to the fashionable principles, and submitted to Ultramontane despo-

C H A P.
VIII.

Jacob Catz.

The Chap-
ter of
Haarlem
retires
from the
contest.

C H A P.
VIII.

tism. The Chapter, however, has continued its succession to this day, and still exists; connived at by Rome, as long so it remains a virtual nonentity. Had Haarlem continued firm to the common cause of Holland, the annals of that Church might have presented a far different story. Utrecht was therefore left to carry on the unequal contest alone.

25. The States of Holland, finding that peace was not restored, banished two of the arch-priests whom De Cock had appointed, and threatened to exile the Jesuits, unless an accommodation could be brought to pass. This menace, and the entreaties of some of the Catholic ambassadors, brought Bussi to the Hague.

Calumnies
against the
Archbi-
shop.

"It was true," he said, "that no charges had been published against Codde; his Holiness was anxious to spare the reputation of that prelate." This infamous suggestion, however, failed of its purpose. "As God liveth," said the Archbishop in the bitterness of his spirit, "Who hath taken away my judgment, and the Almighty Who hath vexed my soul; all the while my breath is in me, and the spirit of God is in my nostrils, my righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go till I die, and will not remove my integrity from me." He addressed a letter to Rome on the subject; and Van Heussen^h, Van Erkel, and two others, were deputed to wait on Bussi in the name of the Chapter, and to demand a fair trial, or open conference, in order that the innocence or guilt of their Archbishop might be made manifest. Both were refused. The Internuncio, however, found that there was no hope of procuring the consent of the States to the return of De Cock; and that the demand of the clergy for a Vicar-Apostolic was too palpably reason-

^h Kemp, Kort Historisch Verhaal, i. 105. From this point, where Van Heussen leaves us, and down to

the year 1727, Kemp, himself an actor in the drama, becomes a most valuable authority.

able to be rejected. Keisersveld, ambassador from the Elector of Trèves at the Hague, lent his assistance; and the choice fell on Gerard Potcamp, arch-priest at Lingen. C H A P.
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26. This excellent priest, now in the 63rd year of his age, was recommended not only by his learning and talents, but, above all, by the peculiar sweetness and gentleness of his character. His life had been one long-continued course of labours in Overysse; and he now resided at Lingen, in the midst of a family of primitive simplicity and piety, his mother, sister, and servant being all Klopjes. He had, as we have seen, signed the memorial in favour of Codde, but had otherwise taken but little part in the troubles of the times; and he now steadily refused to undertake so terrible a responsibility. The assistance of his confessor, Herman Terhoente, whom we have already seen at the death-bed of Van Neercassel, was called on; and very reluctantly the good man accepted the burden. Bussi urged him in the strongest terms. Codde fully acquiesced; and the joy in the Church of Holland was great. He was admitted to the vicariate on the 14th of November, 1705; was received by the States with the greatest honour; and recognised the Chapter of Utrecht by an express act. But the fatigue of the journey and the excitement were too much for an already enfeebled frame. At the beginning of December he was seriously ill at Leyden¹. He occupied himself in drawing up a Pastoral, exhorting to love and concord:—

“What better opportunity,” he asks, “than the approaching festival, in which we shall celebrate the Nativity of Him Who at the moment of His birth willed that *peace to men*

¹ I found in the Archives a letter of his, dated Dec. 3, 1705, to Bussi, in which he speaks of his recovery as extremely doubtful.

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VIII.

should be proclaimed by angels; by the Blood of Whose Cross it pleased the FATHER to reconcile all things to Himself, and Who is therefore most fitly called by the prophets the Prince of Peace? Wherefore, since we are servants and disciples, yes, and the members and the body of this pacific King; we who are all fed on one and the same bread, and made partakers of one and the same SPIRIT,—what is more fitting than that we should ‘all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among’ us^k?”

His death,
Dec. 16,
1705.

27. The pious writer was nearer to the true vision of peace than he could have imagined. He signed the Pastoral with a trembling hand on the night of the 15th of December, and at noon on the 16th he resigned his soul to God. Van Deventer, his secretary, announced the intelligence to Bussi. “I trust,” replied the Internuncio, “that M. Potcamp will more efficaciously obtain that peace for which he laboured from the Divine clemency in his country, where, as we may piously believe, he now dwells, secure of his own welfare, anxious only for the prosperity of the flock committed to his charge.” He was buried in the church of Warmond, near Leyden, in the presence of a vast crowd; the funeral service was performed by Van Heussen.

Catz and
Van Heussen
Grand
Vicars.

28. The Chapters forthwith appointed Catz and Van Heussen Grand Vicars, the see vacant; and strenuously exerted all their influence to procure a successor to Potcamp. Bussi having been transferrèd to the

^k Bat. Sac. ii. 529; Kemp, i. 113. Potcamp has met with harsh treatment from modern Ultramontanes. He is one of those concerning whom Dom Pitra writes so fiercely:—“C’est la que dans le caveau d’une famille perverse pourrissent, sous les pieds des Calvinistes, les restes d’Arnauld, de Quesnel, de Van Heussen, de Codde, de Potcamp, les coryphées de la secte; mais le moment n’est pas loin, ou, le bedeau prenant

la fantaisie de niveler le sol, tous ces os seront jetés au vent, en attendant que la justice de Dieu les ramasse!” And this of a man who not only died in the communion of the Roman Church, but whom Bussi had conjured to accept the vicariate, and, after his death, had spoken of his more efficacious prayers before the throne of God. I would fain hope that D. Pitra has long since wished that sentence recalled.

nunciature at Cologne, received powers, it was said, to appoint a Vicar-General; and without reference either to the Chapters or to the States, he conferred that dignity on Adam Daemen, a native of Amsterdam, but at that time a canon of Cologne. A panegyrist had composed for him the not inelegant anagram,—

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VIII.

Adam
Daemen,
Vicar-
General
and Arch-
bishop of
Hadrian-
ople.

“DAEMEN ES, EMENDA, GENIUS TIBI DIXIT AB ORTU.”

But, in fact, his character was by no means immaculate. He had received fifteen thousand ducats for his vote on the last vacancy of the see of Cologne; and the banquet that he gave on the occasion was a scene of disgraceful drunkenness. He was consecrated on Christmas-day, 1707, by Bussi, under the title of Archbishop of Hadrianople; but the Chapter of Utrecht stood upon its rights of election, and refused in any way to recognise him. That of Haarlem was more complaisant: five of its members, calling themselves a majority of the whole body, presented a memorial to the States, requesting them to acquiesce in the new Vicar. The States referred them to a former placard¹, in which they had expressly forbidden nomination to that office without their consent; they also informed Daemen that, unless he gave a written abdication of that dignity, he would not be permitted to reside in Holland. The schism became every day more terrible. The Roman Inquisition condemned thirty-one pamphlets in a mass, which had been published in defence of Codde. Quesnel replied in an able volume. The Nuncio cited all those who held for the Grand Vicars to appear personally at Cologne. The States of Holland answered by a placard, in which they forbade, under the severest penalties, that any of their subjects should

The schism
grows
more
formid-
able.

¹ Of Aug. 17, 1702.

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VIII.

Great
efforts of
the Ultra-
montanes.

obey that citation. Bussi rejoined by a pastoral, in which he forbade all the faithful to communicate with the national party while living, or to pray for them after death. A crowd of priests were poured in from Cologne. Every attempt was made to wrest the pastoral charges from the ancient clergy. A determined assault was made on the great Béguinages of Amsterdam and Haarlem, the influence of the Sisters being of such vast importance. The clergy drew up an able and well-timed protest; it denounced their condemnation as without charges, without witnesses, without trial, against canon law, against common right; and in the teeth of their appeal of April 1, 1702, which, according to all canonical principles, protected them, while unheard, from all further proceedings. It was numerously signed; but the defection of Haarlem had weakened the national cause, and many names among the 300 who had signed for Codde are not to be found attached to this memorial. Still, with great courage and energy, Catz and Van Heussen held their posts, and kept their clergy together.

Resigna-
tion of
Daemen.

29. Daemen, finding at length that no other hope of terminating his exile was left, resigned his vicariate by a public act of the 11th of August, 1710. He is subsequently mentioned in grateful terms for the generous use he made of his wealth, which was considerable: among other things he founded, or re-founded, the monastery which was afterwards transferred to Dusseldal. In the meantime, Codde was leading a life of the strictest retirement in his country house at 's Graveland, near Utrecht. On the road to Amsterdam, this village is one of the pleasantest in Holland,—the exact picture of what the French would call a *pays riant*. His principal asso-

ciates were Van Heussen, Quesnel, Van Erkel, Steenoven, and Krys; and his literary correspondence with the Gallican party in France was very extensive. Towards the conclusion of October^m he was seized with an illness which, ere long, gave manifest appearances of being mortal. On the 2nd or 3rd of the following month, a certain Abbé Borgia, an *employé* of Bussi and Daemen, arrived from Cologne. He had pledged himself to procure Codde's signature to the Formulary of Alexander VII.; and was admitted by the dying Archbishop to one or two interviews. In the midst of the discussion, Van Erkel, who was present, quoted the example of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, which had anathematized the deceased Pope Honorius, as a Monothelite. "I do not recognise that synod," said Borgia, "as legitimate; it was not presided over by papal legates, and was never confirmed by the Holy See." "Allow me, M. l'Abbé," replied Van Erkel, taking up his breviary: "Will you do me the favour to look at this passage in the Office of S. Leo II.?" Borgia took the book, and read, *Probavit acta sextæ Synodi, quæ Constantinopoli habita est, præsidentibus Legatis Apostolicæ Sedis*. "Ah!" said he: "well, we cannot always be perfectly accurate; and to confess the truth, I am better versed in canon law than in ecclesiastical historyⁿ." The excitement of this interview had almost proved too much for the Archbishop. He rallied, however, and on the 11th of November set his hand to his dying

Codde's
last illness.

^m De Bellegarde says, "au mois de Decembre:" but it is clearly a mistake. He was already so extremely ill (Bat. Sac. ii. 522,) as to receive extreme unction on the 4th of November; on the 11th he had rallied, and signed his declaration, which plainly refers to the visit of Borgia, and his illness was pro-

tracted, with various fluctuations, till the 18th of December.

ⁿ This story is related in Fleury's *Mémoires sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, p. 22, and is quoted in De Bellegarde, p. 266. But it is related more fully in a letter preserved in the Archives, and in the handwriting of Van Erkel.

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declaration. Renewing that which he had made in his former dangerous illness, he solemnly proceeds to attest, as in the presence of that God before Whom he is so soon to appear, that no innovations, either in faith, practice, or rites, had been sanctioned by him, or by any of his brethren :—

His last
protesta-
tion,

30. “The famous Five Propositions,” he continues, “which the Papal See has condemned, I also have ever condemned, and now with all my heart condemn and reject; and that in the same sense in which the see of Rome and the Catholic Church have condemned them, and that without any explanation, distinction, or restriction, in whatever book they may be found,—even in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, if they are really contained in that work. I never experienced any difficulty, except on the mere question of fact; namely, whether those Propositions, which I sincerely condemn, are indeed contained there, if the book be understood in the genuine sense of its writer. The whole affair is involved in various circumstances of great difficulty, and I have experienced the same grave doubts which have occurred to other bishops and theologians on the question of fact. And since I saw, on the one side, that such a question is not of the faith, and cannot be brought under a charge of heresy,—and believed, on the other hand, that it would be a horrible sacrilege to call God to witness that I asserted what was in reality doubtful, I confess I considered that it would be a sin to subscribe in such a disposition of mind, and to run the risk of committing a profligate perjury.”

death,
Dec. 18,
1710,

31. With such sentiments the Archbishop prepared for death. His illness was long and painful, and its fluctuations more than once kindled anew the hopes of his friends. At length, on the 18th of December, 1710, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the twenty-second of his episcopate, he resigned his soul to God, just as the priest who was attending him—I imagine it to have been Van Heussen—was commencing the Psalm, “My song shall be alway of the

loving-kindness of the LORD." He was buried, three days afterwards, by the side of Gerard Potcamp, in the little church of Warmond. Borgia, meanwhile, had reported his ill-success at head-quarters, and in consequence the Roman Inquisition, before receiving intelligence of his death, again condemned Codde (Dec. 30, 1710); and afterwards, on being informed of that event, declared him unworthy of the prayers of the faithful, and of ecclesiastical sepulture.

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VIII.

32. Thus ended the troubled and tempestuous life of Peter Codde. It would be unjust to class him in the rank of great men. A certain degree of vacillation and undecidedness is visible in his very portrait: and his conduct during his stay in Rome, and unwillingness to play a bold part on his return, are proofs that he had not the moral courage and uncompromising firmness necessary for those difficult times. But his fervent and sincere piety, the warmth of his heart, and his passive endurance of injustice, are beyond all praise. The defences of his memory, published by his sorrowing friends, speak their estimation of his character; and, carrying his heavy cross bravely, we may well believe that he found an abundant entrance into that place "where the wicked cease from troubling and where the weary are at rest".

and cha-
racter.

* With the episcopate of Codde Van Heussen's history ends. "Hæc de dissidiis hisce," says he, "parcius: ab aliis fortasse prolixius danda." We are in some degree compensated by the greater fulness of Kemp's history from this time forwards.

Codde's death appears to have created a sensation throughout the Church. I found in the Archives letters from the missionary Bishops of Amieus and Basilæa *in partibus*, lamenting in heartfelt language the loss which Christendom had sustained.

CHAPTER IX.

VACANCY OF THE SEE.

Dec. 18, 1710—April 27, 1723.

CHAP. IX.

1. ON the death of Codde, John Christian van Erkel, a canon of Utrecht, and pastor at Delft, was undoubtedly the ablest champion of the national Church. Van Heussen might surpass him in profound research into the ecclesiastical annals of his country, as Broedersen probably did afterwards in intimate acquaintance with the details of the present struggle; but, on the whole, he united learning, eloquence, firmness, and the advantage of an easy and popular style, to a degree which gave him a decided advantage over any of his contemporaries. It was desirable, therefore, by striking a blow at this eminent man, to intimidate his party. Accordingly, on the 22nd of December, 1710, he was cited by Bussi to appear at Cologne, within the peremptory term of twenty-four days, to answer for the Protest of the clergy of Holland, attributed to him; and failing to appear, was to incur *ipso facto* the penalty of greater excommunication. Several anxious consultations followed. At length Van Erkel replied by a protest, which he forwarded on the 15th of January to Bussi. The Nuncio kept his word, and fulminated the threatened sentence. The States endeavoured, without any great success, to arrange the quarrel. Van Erkel, resolving not to fall into the error of Codde, remained quietly at his post, performed its accustomed duties, and replied to the excommu-

Van Erkel
cited by
Bussi:

he is ex-
commu-
nicated.

nication by a protest, which he published, and which CHAP. IX. had a considerable run^a.

2. The Nuncio also issued what he termed an In-struction for the confessors of the United Provinces. The Nuncio's instructions. He there distinguished the refractory priests into three classes : — 1. Those excommunicated by name. 2. Those who had accepted any ecclesiastical office from any other authority than that of the Nuncio. 3. Those who, though instituted by him, had afterwards joined the national party. With respect to the first and second classes, the faithful were warned that sacraments which require jurisdiction, such as penance and marriage, were absolutely null and void if received at their hands ; and that no sacrament could be received from them without sacrilege, except only penance *in articulo mortis*. With respect to these priests also, though invincible ignorance in the party receiving the sacraments from them exempted from sacrilege, it did not exempt from the necessity of reiterating penance and marriage. In the case of priests of the third class, such reiteration was not required. An instruction so monstrous, and so entirely opposed to the general belief of the Church, that, *pendente lite*, all sacraments are valid, occasioned a ferment throughout Holland, and the Nuncio himself found it advisable to offer terms of accommodation through M. Verhoefstadt, pastor at Bois-le-duc, who was connected with both parties.

3. Accordingly the Chapter, though with very little hope of success, accredited Cornelius Steenoven and William Daellenoord as its deputies to Cologne. Negotiations between Bussi and the Chapter. The former we have seen the faithful companion of Codde

^a It is called "Admonitio ad probos omnes cordatosque Catholicos, super sententiâ excommunicatoriâ : per J.

C. Erkelium, J. U. L. Eccl. R. C. Ultraj. Canon." Delphis, 1711.

CHAP. IX. in his journey to Rome. He was a member of the Chapter, and pastor at Amersfoort. Daellenoord was the last-elected member of the Chapter^b. Arrived at Cologne, they found to their great astonishment that they were required to acknowledge Daemen as Vicar-Apostolic, to recognise the non-existence of the Chapters, and (now for the first time proposed to them) to sign the Formulary of Alexander VII. To the first demand they consented, on condition that the States should consent to Daemen's recall, and that this condescension, for the sake of peace, should not prejudice their inalienable right to elect their own prelate. The second they absolutely refused. The signature was a question which gave rise to greater discussion; various *formulæ* were suggested; but, on the advice of Van Espen and Petitpied, were finally declined. In the meantime, a crowd of young Jesuit priests was poured over the country, and the fierce harangues of some of these almost surpass credibility. One taught that it was better to go to a Calvinist temple than to a Jansenist church; another, that Jansenist baptism no more conferred remission of sins than did circumcision. The Chapter had its choice: delation, persecution, excommunication, on the one hand; promotion, riches, the favour of the Court of Rome, on the other. They now saw Bussi a cardinal; they knew what Sasbold Vosmeer, Rovenius, Van Neercassel, and Codde had suffered. They learnt that the memory of the last-named prelate was branded by the See of Rome as heretical; and there were not wanting those who would have had them take warning from the fate of those bishops. But they answered in the spirit, if not in the words, of their countryman, Philip van Artevelde:—

Virulence
of the
Ultramon-
tanes.

^b See the list at the death of Codde in Tractat. Hist. i. 156.

“But had they thought, or could they but have dreamed,
 The great examples that they died to shew
 Should fall so flat, should shine so useless here,—
 That men should say, ‘For liberty these died,
 Therefore let us be slaves,’—oh, with what shame,
 Their blushing faces buried in the dust,
 Had these great spirits parted hence for heaven!”

CHAP. IX.

4. By the death of Catz, the office of Dean and that of Vicar-General became vacant. Van Heussen, already invested with the latter dignity, now succeeded to the former, and the other vicariate was conferred on Cornelius Staekenburg, a pastor at Utrecht. It was the happiness of the Church of Holland that, amidst the storms with which she was beset, her Chapter was possessed by one spirit, so that the changes in its constitution, brought about by death, in no degree altered its purpose or affected its resolution. A long and weary series of negotiations ended as it began. By this time Archinti, afterwards Cardinal, was appointed to the nunciature of Cologne, and Santini became Internuncio at Brussels: the latter merely taking those functions which would not expose him to civil punishment; and the former, being out of the way of danger, charging himself with those that contravened the law. This truly apostolic arrangement was worked to the utmost for the oppression of the persecuted Church of Holland. But among the Roman party one man stands prominent as the defender of the rights of Utrecht, and as having endeavoured to bring about a real and satisfactory peace. This was the Abbé Tosini, the author of that extremely rare work, *Storia e Sentimento sopra il Giansenismo*. Happening to be at Utrecht during the negotiations for the celebrated peace of 1713, he there became acquainted with the fortunes and sufferings of that Church, and he imagined that he had discovered a

May 18,
 1712.
 Hugo Van
 Heussen,
 Dean.

CHAP. IX. way of putting an end to its miseries. He set out with these two principles,—the continued existence of the Chapters, and the true archiepiscopal character of Vosmeer and his successors. But, he said, there was no valid reason why the Formulary should be refused; and hearing that Van Erkel had put forth a treatise against its imposition, he besought him not to publish it. The work, however, appeared^c; and, strange to say, made a convert of the Abbé himself. Thenceforth he devoted himself more entirely to the re-establishment of peace, and his last proposal annulled the signature of the Formulary. The clergy were to swear that they received all the doctrinal Bulls of the Holy See on the subject of Jansenism; were, *pro hac vice*, to receive their bishop from the Pope, but were to have their right of election acknowledged, and for the future allowed^d. Archinti, a man not without merit, seemed at first to give in to the scheme; the proposal was submitted to Clement XI., but it had no result.

Distress of
the Chap-
ter.

5. Fifteen years had now elapsed since an ordination had been held in Holland. The elder clergy were beginning to die off; their places were necessarily supplied by partizans or creatures of the Jesuits; the leaders of the national party were advanced in years; and it was evident that, unless means could be found to procure a fresh supply of priests, Ultramontaniam would shortly be triumphant. Add to which, that the appearance of the Bull *Unigenitus* seemed to make the breach wider than ever, and to call more imperatively for some remedy. There could

^c It is called *Protestatio*, &c., *tertio asserta*, and, like all Van Erkel's works, is masterly. I wonder that Tosini's *Storia* is not in the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*.

Perhaps its extreme rarity caused it to be overlooked.

^d Tosini prints this document himself, tom. iii. p. 442, whence it is copied by De Bellegarde, p. 289.

be no doubt that the Chapter possessed the right of CHAP. IX. issuing letters dimissory, the see vacant; the only question was, what bishop would be found courageous enough to brave the indignation of Rome by receiving and ordaining upon them. There was an English Carmelite, by name Marison, who had sometime previously made a tour in Holland. Being in London in the August of 1714, he sounded Giffard, Bishop of Madaura, and Vicar-Apostolic, on this delicate subject. That prelate at first seemed disposed to promise his assistance, but his courage failed, and he declined to interfere. Marison thought that he might hope for better success in Ireland. The prelates there were diocesan bishops, and not vicars-apostolic, and might therefore be supposed to sympathize with a Church struggling to retain that which themselves enjoyed. To Ireland he accordingly went, and in the person of Luke Fagan, Bishop of Meath, he found a prelate willing to come to the assistance of Utrecht. Some difficulties, indeed, were to be overcome. Thus, Feb. 11, 1715, he writes: “Je ne perd point de temps pous vous marquer que j’ai employé tous mes soins aupres du *Marchand* pour l’engager a continuer son commerce avec les marchands chez vous^e.” They were, however, removed. Van Heussen gave letters dimissory, as “Vicar-General of the Metropolitcal Chapter of Utrecht, the see vacant,” to twelve candidates, and they were, in four several ordinations, raised to the priesthood by Bishop Fagan. Among the number was Peter John Meindaarts, afterwards Archbishop of Utrecht. He, however, required a solemn promise from each of the candidates that they would never reveal the circumstances of their ordination during his life. A curious event occurred some

Their
negotia-
tions with
Giffard of
Madaura.

Luke Fa-
gan, Bi-
shop of
Meath, ac-
cepts their
letters di-
missory,
and ordains
on them,
1715, 1716.

CHAP. IX. years afterwards. The secret was not so well kept as to prevent an indistinct rumour from reaching the Court of Rome that some Irish bishop had ordained priests for Utrecht. Fagan, by this time Archbishop of Dublin, received orders to discover which prelate had done so. He convoked the Irish bishops; put the question to each of them individually; and returned for answer that, after examination, he was persuaded that none of the bishops, of whom he had enquired, had held any such ordination.

Sequel of
that or-
dination.

Indigna-
tion of the
Inter-
nuncio.

6. When it was known that twelve priests had been ordained for the Church of Utrecht, the Internuncio was furious. The snare he had woven with so much care was broken. Who could have had the effrontery to disregard the Papal will? At last the bright idea struck him that these orders must have been conferred by some Greek bishop. When disabused of this notion, he believed, or at least professed to believe, that the twelve priests had never been ordained at all.

John Bye-
velt: his
proceed-
ings.

7. He, however, cited before himself at Cologne fourteen persons, whom he imagined to have been ordained, though at that time eight only had received the order of priesthood. His information was so bad, that some of the persons thus suspected were married; and one or two were Protestants. Finding his citations a mere subject of ridicule, Archinti committed the enquiry into the hands of John Byevelt, a pastor of no great eminence at the Hague. This man held a kind of court at Gouda; but his deliberations were speedily cut short by a summons to appear before the States. He returned to the Hague, and there discovering that the curate of Daellenoord, the canon whom I have before mentioned, had, without doubt, been recently ordained, he commenced proceedings against him. At this period he was raised to the

Vicariate Apostolic as the reward of his services. At CHAP. IX.
 Hilversum, where the national party was, and to He is appointed Vicar-Apostolic.
 this day is, very strong, his nomination occasioned a riot. On this, the States of Holland banished him; he retired to Utrecht, but in a few months was expelled from that province also. He then took up his abode at Arnheim, and thence exercised jurisdiction over those who would obey him.

8. This infusion of new blood raised the courage of Vigour of the Chapter.
 the heroic Chapter. It is wonderful, and may not be without its lesson to us, that eight simple priests, without wealth, influence, or position, with nothing but the right on their side, could hold their own against all the intrigues of the Company and the fulminations of the Court of Rome. They now determined to try what assistance they could obtain from France. The Bull *Unigenitus* was exciting the deepest indignation in that kingdom: the residence of Quesnel, Petitpied, and other distinguished writers of the party in Holland, served as a link between the two countries. The case was now laid before the doctors of Louvain, and the three questions were put: "Is the Church of Utrecht to be considered as *collapsed*, and reduced to the condition of a mere mission? Has the metropolitical Chapter survived? Does the Vicariate represent that Chapter?" By a Resolution of May 25, 1717, Van Espen, supported by four other doctors, replied to the first question in the negative; to the two latter in the affirmative. In the course of that year and the next, first eleven doctors of the Faculty of Paris, then fifty-two, then thirty more, and then the whole faculty, gave in their "adhesion" to the Resolution^f. In the meantime three bishops

Negotiations with the French Bishops.

^f The whole of the documents connected with this very important testimonial to the rights of the Church of Utrecht, are given in Van Espen's Works, vol. v. pp. 382—396.

CHAP. IX. had signified their willingness to ordain on the letters dimissory of the Chapter, the see vacant. These were — Soanen of Senez, whose subsequent deposition by the Council of Embrun I have already noticed; Lorraine of Bayeux, and Caumartin of Blois. The Bishop of Senez^g ordained four priests in 1718; among these was Barchman Wuytiers, afterwards Archbishop of Utrecht.

De Cock's
attack on
Codde.

9. Theodore de Cock, finding time hang heavy on his hands at Rome, employed himself in composing a work against the memory of Codde, false and libellous in its assertions, and ungenerous and useless, had it been true. This produced a crushing reply from Van Erkel, addressed in a dedicatory epistle to all the neighbouring bishops and collegiate chapters:—

Van
Erkel's
reply.

“This Church^h,” he writes, “founded more than a thousand years ago by the toils and the blood of saints, has been preserved through most troublous times, together with the Catholic faith and the laws of our forefathers, (and oh! what men they were,) intact and inviolate. The same Church, contending now as strenuously as in times past for the faith, carrying on its work with equal solicitude, its adversaries pitilessly seek to cut up root and branch, to overwhelm it in its own ruins, to rob it of its beauty, and to reduce it to an obscure mission.”

This apology has been the means of preserving to us several important documents, which might otherwise have perished.

Death of
Van Heus-
sen, Feb.
14.

10. In the year 1719 Hugh Van Heussen, the great pillar of the national Church, was called to his rest.

^g In the account given in the *Dictionnaire des Livres Jansénistes*, it is said that Van Heussen, in his letters dimissory, gave the *extra tempora*, which is usually regarded as a papal privilege; and that Soanen scandalized his Church by not himself celebrating at these ordinations.

But a writer so badly informed as to speak of *Stanoven*, *Valler*, Bishop of Babylon, Van Hussen, &c., is perhaps no great authority on such a matter. (Tom. ii. p. 406.)

^h This passage is in p. 2 of the (unpaged) Preface to the *Defensio*. (Utrecht: Van den Eynde, 1717.)

He died just before God brought to pass the means CHAP. IX. of her perpetuation; three months more would have shewn him the possibility of her obtaining an archbishop of her own. The *Batavia Sacra* will be his imperishable monument. John Christian Van Erkel was elected Dean, and Cornelius Steenoven Vicar-Generalⁱ, in his place.

11. It was felt that the time was now come for more vigorous measures. We have already seen that on the 5th of March, 1717, four bishops, namely, De la Broue, of Mirepoix; Colbert de Croissy, of Montpellier; De L'Angle, of Boulogne; and Soanen, of Senez, had, in conjunction with the Sorbonne, appealed against the Bull *Unigenitus* to the future Œcumenical Council. The Church of Utrecht now followed their example, and on May 9, 1719, appealed to the same council, not only against that Bull, but against the injustice inflicted on itself since the suspension of Codde to the date of the actⁱ. Copies were sent to the bishops appellants, and to the University of Paris; and answers, breathing the most sincere sympathy, were in due time received^k. This Appeal^l, undoubtedly

The Chapter of Utrecht appeals to the Future Council.

ⁱ The Chapter, in the May of this famous year, consisted of the following canons: John Christian Van Erkel, Dean; Hugo Gael, ex-pastor at Rotterdam; Cornelius Staekenburg, Vicar-General; William Frederick Van Daellennoort, whom I have already mentioned; Matthias Oosterling, pastor at Delft, and a man of learning; James Timmer, pastor at Rotterdam; Gisbert Van Dyck, vice-pastor at Utrecht. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Gael, he was succeeded by Theodore van der Croon, pastor at Gouda, afterwards Archbishop; on that of Staekenburg, he was succeeded in the vicariate by Van Dyck, in his canonry by Willebrord Kemp, pastor of S. Gertrude

at Utrecht, and the vernacular historian of the Church; while, on the resignation of Timmer, who seems to have been a waverer, his place was filled by the staunchest of the staunch, Nicolas Broederssen, afterwards Dean, and the celebrated author of the *Tractatus Historici*. —Compare the signatures to the Appeal, pp. 15, 16, with Tract. Hist. i. 158.

^k They are given in Kemp, vol. i. 168—176.

^l It is in small 4to., the size of most of these *brochures*, and contains 25 pp. The imprint is "Delphis apud Henricum Rhenanum," i.e. Van Rhijn. 1719.

CHAP. IX. written by Van Erkel, is a very able document. It commences with a long quotation from the Appeal of the University of Paris ; proceeds to comment on the unfairness of condemning a French book from an unfaithful Latin translation ; notes the far greater harshness exhibited to Quesnel than that used towards Luther or Wickliff ; quotes the doctrine of Adrian VI., himself a native of Utrecht : “ *Certum est quod Pontifex potest errare etiam in eis quæ tangunt Fidem ; hæresin per suam determinationem aut Decretalens asserendo Plures enim fuerunt Romani Pontifices hæretici ;*” justifies the principle of such an appeal ; and instances the numerous appellants against the Bull *Unigenitus*. It then reverts to the more especial injuries sustained by the Church of Utrecht, and includes them in the appeal. The document is signed by the eight canons, and by forty-three of the clergy of the archdiocese. Among these I notice the names of Kemp the historian ; Van der Croon, afterwards Archbishop ; and Meganck, Dean at the time of the Council of Utrecht, forty-four years later. The clergy of Haarlem gave in a *raisonnée* adhesive to that of their brethren : it is signed by twenty-two of their number—the most famous among them being Jacob Krys, of whom we shall presently have to speak ; Jerome de Bock, afterwards Bishop of Haarlem ; and Nicolas Broedersen, in after years Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter, of whom we shall hear more. And then follows the touching notice :—

Adherents
to the
Appeal.

“ Nor must Hugo Van Heussen, at the time Dean of the Chapter, and Vicar-General, the see vacant, and the principal promoter of the appeal, be separated from the other signatures. Seized with a mortal disease, and finding himself near death, he made a brief declaration, as fitted a dying man, in this form : ‘ If the Chapter of the Metropo-

litical Church shall appeal from the Constitution of Cle-
ment XI., which begins with the word *Unigenitus*, to the
future council, I affirm that I, Vicar of the said Chapter, and
Dean, adhere to that Appeal. “ ‘HUGO VAN HEUSSEN.

CHAP. IX.

“ ‘Done at Leyden, Feb. 11, 1719.’ ”

He died only three days after. Two clergy of the diocese of Leeuwarden also adhere; the last time that any of that diocese have supported the national Church. The total number of signatures—and probably every effort was made to procure them—was 75: a sad falling off from the 300 who in 1701 had protested in favour of Codde.

12. But now a remarkable personage appears on the scene, whose casual visit to Amsterdam affected the whole fortunes of the Church of Utrecht, who was the means of animating her drooping spirits, of providing her with the episcopal succession, and of perpetuating her to the present day. Dominique Marie Varlet had studied in Paris, and had for five years been a diligent parish priest in the country, when he was sent into Canada, and subsequently became Vicar-General of Louisiana, under the Bishop of Quebec. In this huge mission—for it extended from the Lakes of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico—he laboured for several years; when, being at Quebec at the end of 1718, he learnt that he had been appointed Bishop of Ascalon *in partibus*, and coadjutor to Pidou de Saint Olon, Bishop of Babylon, and that he was to return to France without loss of time, for the purpose of being consecrated. He did so; and on arriving at Paris received instructions from the Congregation that the consecration was to take place at once, but that during his stay in the metropolis, and in his journey to the future scene of his labours, he was to preserve a strict *incognito*. He was consecrated on Quinqua-

Early history of D. M. Varlet, Bishop of Babylon.

CHAP. IX. gesima Sunday^m, 1719. On the same day he received news of the death of S. Olon, which had occurred a year and a half before, so slowly did intelligence then travel. This redoubled his eagerness to reach the East: the usual way through Turkey was then impracticable, on account of war, and he was glad to find a companion in a French Consul appointed to Schiraz, with whom he left Paris on the 18th of March, 1719, intending to take the route through Russia.

13. Anxious to preserve his *incognito*, he had not thought it necessary to pay a visit to the Nuncio at Paris; and, as he did not reach Brussels till midnight on Saturday the 25th, and was obliged to continue his journey on the following day, neither did he pay his respects to Santini in that city. These circumstances became afterwards of importance. It had been the intention of the travellers to hurry on to Lübeck; but, hearing of a vessel that was about to leave Amsterdam for S. Petersburg, the Consul altered his plans, and bent his way to that city. They arrived there early on the morning of Palm-Sunday, April 2. The Bishop was in some difficulty how to act. If he lodged at an inn, he could not observe the fast; and, in any case, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the authorities before he could say mass—a permission which his *incognito* would scarcely permit him to seek. While he was considering the course to be pursued, Jacob Kryszewski, whom we have already seen as one of the ablest supporters of the national Church in the diocese of Haarlem, paid him a visit, and represented that in his own house the Bishop would be able to observe Holy Week be-

He arrives
at Amsterdam,

^m By the Ex-Bishop of Condom, the coadjutor of Quebec, and the Bishop of Clermont. All these

early particulars are from the Preface to the "Apology,"—to which I shall so often have occasion to refer.

comingly; while, from the credit he had with the CHAP. IX. magistrates, a request for permission to say mass might safely be omitted. The Prelate accepted the invitation without any further knowledge, he says, of the state of affairs than that the Church of Utrecht was involved in some difficulties with that of Romeⁿ. During the course of the week, Krys and his friends laid before the Bishop the wretched state of their Church, deprived of confirmation for nearly twenty years. Indignant, as he well might be, at this tyranny on the part of Rome, he was unwilling to interfere. Doubtless the hardship was great; doubtless they who were causes of, or accessories to, this spiritual loss, would render a terrible account hereafter. But still Antwerp was not so very far distant, and the eastern provinces were not so remote from Münster. It was represented in return that, whatever might be the case as regarded those in easy circumstances, the poor could not travel so far; and the Bishop was conjured, by all the bonds of charity, to interfere at least on their behalf. For some time he refused; but he was detained by a contrary wind, and at length the arguments of his hosts prevailed. On the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of April he confirmed six hundred and four persons. On the 25th he sailed for S. Petersburg. and confirms there. This courageous and charitable action was never forgotten, nor forgiven, by the Court of Rome. That so crying an injustice was exposed and remedied was, and to this day is, an unpardonable offence in the

ⁿ I must confess that there has always appeared to me some want of straightforwardness in this part of the Bishop's account. It was not more than eight years since he had left France; the condition of Utrecht was even then in every man's mouth; he could hardly have failed to hear of it even in the country; and during his course of study in Paris he

must have received some information on the subject. It is curious, too, that Krys alone, of all the priests in Amsterdam, should have *happened* to receive intelligence of his arrival. But this in no way detracts from the general truthfulness of the Bishop's account; and doubtless he had no idea of the length to which matters had proceeded.

CHAP. IX. eyes of Ultramontanes. Our narrative must follow the Bishop's wanderings.

14. Detained by contrary winds in the Baltic, he did not arrive at S. Petersburg till the last of May; and though he lost no unnecessary time, he could not reach Moscow till the 10th of July. Navigating the Mosca and the Volga, he made Astrachan on the 10th of September, where he was well received by the Capuchin Fathers, and invited to preach on the Nativity of S. Mary, there observed with singular devotion. In his onward progress, his usual ill-fortune attended him. The Caspian is generally crossed in three days; storms and head-winds protracted his passage to fifteen. On landing, he and his little company made for Schamaké°, which he reached on the 1st of November. Here it was necessary to wait till permission could be obtained from the government to advance. A Jesuit who was settled here invited the Bishop to use his church; the invitation was cordially accepted; at length it was, without any reason, withdrawn. The Armenians were much scandalized at this want of respect shewn to a prelate, and expressed their discontent in no measured terms. On the Epiphany, Isaiah, Patriarch of Albania, who was in the communion of Rome, performed the office in the great church; the Bishop of Babylon was also present, and dined with him afterwards.

He arrives
at Scha-
maké,

15. Thus the winter passed away. On the 15th of March, as the Bishop was sitting with one of his priests, Father Bachou, a Jesuit, was announced. After some indifferent conversation, the visitor requested the priest to retire, saying that he had something for M. Varlet's private ear. He then took a paper from his pocket. "This," said he, "I have

° It is spelt Khamache in our maps, and was then the capital of Shirwan.

been charged by the Bishop of Ispahan to deliver to you ;” and, unfolding it, he continued, “ It is a suspension.” The Bishop, much displeased at this informal method of procedure, and fearing some trick, folded it again, and merely said, “ I will look at it, and see what it is.” Bachou then bade him adieu, and never returned. On examining the document, it purported to emanate from the Bishop of Ispahan, and bore date the 17th of December^p. On the 15th, it stated, letters had been received from the Propaganda, dated on the previous 7th of May, which suspended the Bishop of Babylon from all exercise of order and jurisdiction. The reasons assigned were :—

1. That he had not visited the Nuncio at Paris, nor sworn to observe, and to cause to be observed in his diocese, the Bull *Unigenitus*.
2. That he had not visited the Internuncio at Brussels, to receive his instructions, and had nevertheless acted in his episcopal character in Holland, to the great scandal of the faithful.

So gross was the injustice of this suspension, that even Ultramontane canonists pronounced it, afterwards, utterly null and void, and agreed that the Bishop might safely have disregarded it. In fact, he was disposed to do so ; but reflexion convinced him that he would never be allowed to work with any effectual success in his diocese ; and he believed that, if he stated the case to the Propaganda, the crying injustice of the sentence would be allowed by them. True, they had ordered that every bishop should swear at his consecration to observe the *Unigenitus* ; but this order had not reached Paris at the time he left it ; and if it had, as a French subject, he was at that time forbidden to obey it. He therefore left

CHAP. IX.
and is suspended.

Nullity of
the suspension.

^p All the details are given in the Preface to the First Apology ; also in a letter of M. Felix, Varlet's com-

panion, dated Schamaké, Mar. 26, 1720, and printed in the *Recueil*, p.145.

CHAP. IX. Schamaké on the 6th of May, and, retracing his former route, arrived at Amsterdam in the early spring of 1721. Here he was warmly welcomed by the heads of the national party; they requested him to take up his residence in that city, till Providence should open him the way to the recognition of his innocence.

The Bishop returns to Amsterdam

His vain negotiations with Innocent XIII.

16. In the meantime his agent was busy in amassing evidence and procuring audiences at Rome. The Cardinal de Noailles and the Superiors *des missions étrangères* at Paris represented to the Bishop of Babylon that his stay at Amsterdam might prove prejudicial to his interests, and that he had better, during the progress of the negotiations, reside in France. The accession of Innocent XIII., who was esteemed moderate in his views, gave him further hopes; and after residing some time in Paris, he passed the rest of the year with De Caylus, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the most strenuous opponents of the *Unigenitus*. While here, he composed a memorial to the Propaganda, which he accompanied with a "consultation" of Gibert, the most celebrated of the living French canonists^a. The summer passed away in negotiations. At length, in August, the Bishop informed his agent that, in any arrangement, the three following things were essential:—He would never accept the *Unigenitus*; he would never apologize for having confirmed at Amsterdam; and he would never resign. On this, De Montigny, his agent, replied that the affair was for the present hopeless; and Varlet, finding it indeed to be so, determined to return to Amsterdam. Probably De Caylus, whose own position was sufficiently delicate, was unwilling to harbour for an unnecessarily long time a Bishop so obnoxious to the Roman Court, though the two continued in strict

^a They are, both in Latin and French, in the First Apology, p. 40 and p. 56.

friendship till separated by death. To Amsterdam, CHAP. IX. therefore, the Bishop of Babylon came: it was in the beginning of 1723. He again attempted to negotiate both with the Propaganda and with Innocent XIII., but received no answer to his letters. He therefore at length followed the example of the Church of Utrecht, and of several of the French bishops, and by act, dated Feb. 15, 1723, appealed both against his pretended suspense and against the Bull *Unigenitus*. He appeals to the Future Council. This is a most masterly production; and, if not evincing the full learning which Varlet's later compositions shew, altogether worthy of the friend and fellow-labourer of Van Espen. His protest against his own suspension is grounded on six nullities:—

1. The absence of any sufficient cause.
2. The incompetence of the judge.
3. The absence of due form.
4. The want of citation.
5. The want of monition.
6. The neglect of the Bishop of Ispahan to exhibit his powers as the Pope's official.

He caused this appeal to be registered in the Archives at Haarlem, and demanded and obtained, by a canonical fiction, from Jacob Krys, as Protonotary Apostolic, the letters called *Apostoli*, by which, on appeal made, the judge transmits the appellant to a yet higher tribunal.

17. In the meantime, the Church of Utrecht had not been idle. The Chapter was resolved to use every means for the procuring an Archbishop. Attempts to procure an Archbishop. The difficulty, of course, lay in the practice that had by degrees been introduced, of requiring a Papal Bull as necessary to the consecration of a prelate. But all the best canonists and theologians regarded the innovation as a mere ecclesiastical arrangement, which might be proper in ordinary circumstances, but could not be turned into an instrument for the destruction of a great national Church. Thus argued the Por-

* This was not done till July 27, 1724.

CHAP. IX. Portuguese theologians, when, on the accession of the House of Bragança, *from the fear of displeasing Spain*, Rome for so many years refused Bulls; thus argued the assemblies of the French clergy in 1650 and 1682; thus, in 1718, with regard to the bishops nominated during the minority of Louis XV., and who had not accepted the *Unigenitus*. In all these cases, the Court of Rome only avoided the danger by conceding what was demanded; but the Church of Holland, being weak, comparatively small, incapable of enriching the Papal treasury, and under a secular government which would not interfere in its behalf, might of course be insulted with impunity.

Works in
defence of
the Na-
tional
Church.

18. A letter of congratulation addressed by the Chapter to Innocent XIII.^s (June 11, 1721), represented to him the glory with which he would surround his name, if he would take pity on the twenty years' widowhood of the Church of Holland. The letter was unanswered. An industrious and faithful agent, Pierre Leverage, was despatched to Rome; and negotiations were also opened with the Internuncio at Brussels. It was resolved, by a capitular act, that every means should be taken—in sermons, in confession, by conversation—of instructing the people on the right of a national Church to a bishop; and that, by the contemplated election, the canons would commit no offence against Catholic unity. Van Erkel was commissioned to compose some popular dialogues on the subject. He performed his task very ably. The first part appeared at Delft in 1722^t, under the title of *Samenspraak tusschen Pieter Regthart en Joan Warmond* ("Dialogue between Peter Right-heart and John True-mouth"); and the question is treated as popu-

^s It is given in Kemp, vol. i. p. 177.

^t They were published—the first part, 1722, in 64 pp.; 2nd, 1723, in

72 pp.; 3rd, 1723, in 70 pp.; 4th, 1723, in 78 pp.; 5th, 1724, in 56 pp.

larly and amusingly as a subject so dry in itself could be made. It was also resolved to establish an ecclesiastical seminary for the use of the diocese ; and this in time took the form of the present institution at Amersfoort. On the 30th of September another letter was addressed to the Pope, and was accompanied by a memorial on the present state of the Church of Utrecht^u, and the necessity of a bishop ; — still no reply. At length a memorable Consultation was procured from Van Espen and two other doctors of Louvain^x, and published under the title of “A Dissertation on the Miserable Condition of the Church of Utrecht.” It is divided into five sections. The first asserts the necessity of a bishop in a national Church to be *jure divino* ; shews it to be equally asserted by the canons ; and, in the present case, to be extreme : the second proves that the right of election lay in the Chapter ; that the Vicariate was the perpetuation of that Chapter ; that the right had never been lost ; that, consequently, the right lay in the present canons : the third, that if the Roman See refuses Bulls, the Chapter may proceed to election and consecration without them ; the fourth, that one bishop may, in case of necessity, consecrate ; and the fifth considers the question, Who are those nearest bishops that are bound, in such a case, to assist^y ?

CHAP. IX.

*The Dis-
sertatio de
misero
Ecclesiæ
Ultrajec-
tinæ statu.*

19. The next proceeding of the Chapter was to obtain the sentiments of the principal Catholic universities on the “Consultation.” Nineteen Doctors of the Sorbonne, with the consent of a great number of their brethren, approved of it ; the University of Nantes would have given in its public adherence, had not the tyrannical Council of Conscience interfered ; several

*Senti-
ments of
the uni-
versities
on it ;*

^u They are given in Kemp, vol. i., pp. 183 and 189.

^x Amandus Bauwens and F. Verschuwen.

^y This Resolution is given in Van Espen's Works, tom. 5, pp. 396—415.

CHAP. IX. Doctors of Rheims urged forward the business; the great authorities of Louvain had already spoken; Serry, Theological Professor at Padua, was in the same sentiments; and many doctors and dignitaries besought the Chapter to act on its undoubted right.

and of the
govern-
ment.

So urged, it next sounded the government authorities as to their sentiments; for it must be remembered that no Archbishop of Utrecht had as yet been consecrated, under that title, since the Reformation. The dispositions of the magistrates were favourable; a Protestant lawyer, Slicher, even published a pamphlet to shew that the subjection of its Roman Catholic citizens to a national episcopate would be advantageous to the State.

It is true, there were not wanting those who, while fully recognising the right of the Chapters to proceed to an immediate election, advised delay and management: Rome would be more complaisant; the clergy would be more thoroughly instructed,—the people would be better prepared. There is a noble letter from D. Thierry de Viaixnes to such an objection, which is preserved in the Archives:—

“Comment, mon T. C. Monsieur, pouvez vous me demander par quels liens votre église sera pour lors visiblement liée avec l’église universelle? Je réponds en deux mots; par les mêmes liens qui l’y attachent à présent.”

While things were in this state, Levage wrote that it would be hopeless to look for his reception as the agent of the Chapters; he must act as procurator for the *clergy of Holland*, or not act at all: and shortly afterwards he informed his clients that if, as was asserted at Rome, they were appellants from the Bull *Unigenitus*, their representation could be of no effect.

The Chap-
ter assem-
ble,

20. Convinced at last that they had nothing to expect from the Papal Court, the Chapter assembled at the Hague on Tuesday, the 27th of April, 1723.

All the canons were present: John Christian Van Erkel, the Dean, Cornelius Steenoven and Gisbert Van Dyck, Vicars-General; Daellenoord, Oosterling, Van der Croon, Kemp, and Broedersen. It must have been a solemn moment when, the Mass of the HOLY GHOST having been said, the choice was actually to be made. Eight priests, strong in their good cause; resolute, at whatever cost, to uphold their national Church; utterly destitute of all earthly help; were about to take a step from which powerful kingdoms had shrunk, and to vindicate for themselves and their people the inherent rights of the Christian episcopate. Van Erkel addressed them. There were three ways in which they might proceed. The election might be by *inspiration*, by proxy, or by scrutiny. To which did his reverend brethren incline? I gather that it was known that the choice would not be unanimous, or the first would have been pursued. The election by scrutiny was adopted. On this, Oosterling, Van der Croon, and Broedersen were appointed scrutators, and took the usual oath, to act with perfect impartiality, and not to reveal how the votes were given. They^z, with Jacob Kryss as Prototary, and two priests named Van Haen as witnesses, proceeded to the scrutiny, and shortly afterwards announced that the Chapter had elected, by a majority of votes, Cornelius Steenoven to be Archbishop of Utrecht. The Prelate-elect, after some natural resistance, consented to the office and danger imposed upon him; and the Chapter, proceeding to the Church, sang *Te Deum* for the prosperous termination of their work.

and elect
Cornelius
Steen-
oven,
April 27,
1723.

The real struggle had yet to commence.

^z These details are given by Kemp, who was himself present as a canon, vol. ii. pp. 3—5.

CHAPTER X.

CORNELIUS STEENOVEN, SEVENTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1723—1725.

CHAP. X. 1. THE new head of the Church of Holland had been, as we have seen, the companion of Codde in his sojourn at Rome: he had been elected into the Chapter for that purpose^a. He had since that time been employed by his brethren as their agent at Cologne; and the moderation of his principles, and his education at Rome, where he had taken the degree of Doctor of Theology, induced them to hope that he had a better chance of acceptance by the Papal Court than the more eminent members of the Chapter, who had been brought more into collision with Ultramontane prejudices. The Chapter wrote the same day to the Pope, and requested him to dispense with the canonical number of three consecrating bishops. It must be confessed that this request has a singular appearance; the only difficulty to procuring three prelates willing to undertake that office consisted in the refusal of Papal Bulls; nor is it easy to see how Innocent XIII. could have been expected to grant a dispensation which he might just as well have rendered needless. The Archbishop-elect shortly afterwards wrote, and also sent his profession of faith; it was that of Pius IV.

Earlier life
of Arch-
bishop
Steenoven.

^a "J'ai crû qu'il seroit bien pour beaucoup de raisons," writes Codde under date of Aug. 19, 1700, "que je fusse accompagné par un membre du Chapitre de Haerlem, et par un de celui d'Utrecht. Celui de Haer-

lem sera M. François Groenhout, frère de celui qui est Pro-Vicaire: et puisqu'il y a une place vacante dans le Chapitre d'Utrecht, on la remplira de M. Steenoven avant mon départ." Tract. Hist. i. 144.

2. The eyes of all Catholic Europe were now fixed on the proceedings of the Chapter. That Rome would yield none could imagine; but would the canons have courage to persevere? How were the three bishops to be found? Would the Bishop of Babylon venture to consecrate alone? Was the election a mere bravado, or was it to be carried out to the end? "I can think of nothing," writes Langlois, Bishop of Boulogne, "except of *les affaires présentes de cette glorieuse Eglise d'Utrecht*." No answer from Rome. A second letter from the Chapter on the 4th of August^b; a third on the 29th of December^c. No answer still. The spring of 1724 came on. Van Erkel's dialogues were doing good service; and Ultramontane pens were employed to reply to them. One of these works so produced was an ingenious counter-dialogue between Warmond and Regthart; the other, a letter from a Doctor of Louvain to a friend in Holland, on the rights of the so-named Chapter of Utrecht.

CHAP. X.

Interest
excited in
Europe.

3. On the 9th of March the Chapter addressed a circular letter to all Catholic bishops on the sufferings of the Church of Utrecht. It had scarcely been sent out, when intelligence arrived of the death of Innocent XIII. The Ultramontanes were now in consternation. The late Pope had not approved, but neither had he condemned, the election; during the vacancy of the Holy See the neighbouring bishops might feel less fettered; the new head of the Church might be moderate in his views, and might acquiesce in the consecration. The cardinals, therefore, in conclave, issued a letter on the 8th of April, in which they applied the most scurrilous reproaches to the Chapter, and to the Bishop of Babylon; the Internuncio, hold-

The
Synodal
Letter.^b Kemp, vol. ii. 41.^d It is given in Kemp, ii. 228—235.^c Ibid. 53.

CHAP. X.
Letter of
the Cardi-
nals in
conclave.

ing the same language, addressed a circular to all the Catholics of Holland^e, and the pamphlet was sedulously dispersed. It is curious that the day before the Cardinals had issued their manifesto, Steenoven and Van Dyck, as Vicars-General, had published a pastoral letter, in which they desired the prayers^f of the faithful for the departed Pope. To the Internuncio's letter^g the Chapters returned a firm reply; and, determined to leave no stone unturned, they next addressed a circular to all Catholic Deans and Chapters^h, urging them to make common cause against an invasion of common rights. This producing no effect, they next wrote to the Universitiesⁱ of Louvain, Douai, Paris, Rheims, Nantes, Caen, Poitiers, Cologne, Vienna, Prague, and Strasbourg. Still no answer.

"Verily," says Kemp, with a touch of natural bitterness, "*they were all dumb dogs—they could not bark!*" "Let them all," he continues, "let bishops, canons, universities, be silent! Such a silence, noble clergy and illustrious Chapter, is a clear proof that your Archbishop has been well and validly elected, and that you may proceed with full assurance to his consecration."

Election of
Benedict
XIII.

4. Now came intelligence that Cardinal Orsini had been elected to the vacant See, and had taken the title of Benedict XIII. The Chapter addressed him most submissively^j, but to as little purpose as before. Letters were sent to the neighbouring prelates, conjuring them for the love of CHRIST to come to the relief of the distressed Church, and to consecrate Steenoven. Few replied: those who did, wrote with every expression of sympathy^k, but declined more

^e Kemp, ii. 237—242.

^f Ibid. 152—157.

^g Ib. 251—290.

^h Ib. 174—196.

ⁱ Ib. 198—217.

^j Ib. 294—304.

^k One such is given in Kemp, iii. 3, but the name of the prelate is suppressed. I did not find it in the Archives.

active assistance. Even De Caylus, the most *prononcé* CHAP. X.
of the French bishops, could give no warmer comfort
than “Se j’étais en ce pays la, je ne ferai pas la
moindre difficulté de lui imposer mes mains.” It was
understood, however, that the Bishops of Antwerp,
Arras, and S. Omer were all but persuaded to come
forward, and the first-named took a singular method
of shewing his sympathy. On the 30th of July he
consecrated his brother Bishop of Rhodes *in partibus*,
without the assistance of any other prelate, which he
might easily have procured,—as if he would thereby
exhort the Bishop of Babylon to act, without scruple,
by himself. In the meantime, the question was uni-
versally asked, How long is this state of things to con-
tinue? The Archbishop had been elected a year and
a half, and not one step had really been effected to-
wards his consecration. No one urged on the affair
so much as Dom Thierry de Viaixnes, who made it his
especial business to enquire into the sentiments of the
French bishops. In a letter of the 10th of September,
1724¹, he tells the Chapter that, to his certain know-
ledge, the Bishops of Montpellier, Senez, and Auxerre
were for the consecration; and that, from the best
evidence he could collect, those of Bayeux, Pamiers,
Macon, Rhodéz, Angoulême, Metz, Troyes, and the
ex-Bishop of Tournay, were in the same sentiments.

5. The Chapter, after having vainly requested the
assistance of the nearest bishops^m, Antwerp, Roer-
monde, Namur, S. Omer, on the 13th of October,
1724, addressed a letter to the Bishop of Babylon,
briefly recapitulating what had been done, the extreme
necessity of their Church, their repeated applications

Sympathy
of the
B'shop of
Antwerp.

The Chap-
ter applies
to the Bi-
shop of
Babylon.

¹ This is in Kemp, iii. 16—26,
but the names are there suppressed.
In the *Recueil* the names are given.

^m The letter is in Kemp, iii. 53—
57.

CHAP. X. to the Church of Rome", and mentioning the consecration at Antwerp as a pattern and an excuse:—

"It is," they wrote, "as in old times: *if we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws, they will quickly root us out of the earth.*"—"You see," they continue, "that we are as sheep that have no shepherd, who may be CHRIST'S vicar in our Church: by Him, then, Who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, we beseech, entreat, and conjure you to give us the desire of our hearts. What will be your praise in the Catholic Church, if you raise up again a Church that has almost fallen, a Church which God has perhaps preserved free from certain new bondages and scandals,"—(they not obscurely hint at the Formulary and the *Unigenitus*,)—"to this end, that when He shall renew His signs, and shall do wondrously, it may minister to the execution of His counsels?"

Cornelius Steenoven is consecrated.

6. Accordingly, after so many delays, on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, Oct. 15, 1724, the Chapter assembled in the private chapel of the Bishop of Babylon, at Amsterdam. Van Erkel and Daellenoord assisted in the place of the wanting prelates, and Cornelius Steenoven was rightly and canonically consecrated Archbishop of Utrecht. The time was the somewhat unusual hour of 6 A.M.: this was chosen to suit the convenience of the parish priests, Jacob Krys, Luke Ahuys, and Theodore Doncker, who had officially to be present, and who had to do their own parochial duties later in the day. The bold step was taken,—the Rubicon was passed; and it remained to see what sympathy and assistance the Church of Holland might expect. The result was not long doubtful. Letters of congratulation flowed in from all quarters. The Bishops Colbert, of Montpelier; De Caylus, of Auxerre; De Lorraine, of Bayeux; De Tilladet, of Macon;

" This letter is given in Latin of the Bishop of Babylon, p. 467; and French in the Second Apology and in Dutch in Kemp, iii. 58—65.

De Verthamon, of Pamiers ; Soanen, of Senez ; wrote in person. Tourourre, of Rhodéz ; Dreuillet, of Bayonne ; D'Arbreuve, of Dax ; De Corslin, of Tarbes ; Meaupon, of Lombez ; Beaujen, of Castres ; De Verthamon, of Luçon ; wrote by deputy : and the host of letters from dignitaries of the second order was countless. "You may rightly," says Ruth d'Ans, addressing the new Archbishop from Brussels, Oct. 16, 1722, "you may rightly call yourself Archbishop of Utrecht 'by the grace of God ;' for what other grace could have overcome the obstacles which have opposed the happy consummation of this so great work ?"—"I feel for you," writes Thierry de Viaixnes, from Amsterdam, "when I think of the weight of business by which you will be at once overwhelmed. You knew yourself how it would be, and therefore it was that you shrank from an office formidable even to angels. But the SPIRIT of GOD, Who animates you, will make this burden light."—"If the consecrator," writes Chassaigne, "had never performed any other episcopal act than this, I should regard him as the first Bishop in the Church."—"The LORD hear thee," says Barchman Wuytiers, with a juster appreciation of the impending storm, "in the day of trouble : the Name of the GOD of Jacob defend thee ! Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion ! Remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt-sacrifice ! Grant thee thy heart's desire, and fulfil all thy mind° !"

Congratulations from the National party.

7. The Archbishop lost no time in acquainting the Court of Rome with his consecration. His letter to Benedict XIII. is no less forcible than touching. He dwells on the long-delayed hopes of his Church,

Archbishop Steenoven writes to Benedict XIII.

° These, and many other testimonies, are to be found in the *Recueil des Témoignages*, p. 319, &c.

CHAP. X. the exultation of her adversaries, and the righteousness of her cause; while he dwells on her inviolable attachment to Catholic unity, and undiminished reverence for the chair of S. Peter^p. Six weeks later, he addressed Cardinal de Noailles on the same subject, and wrote to several other influential bishops^q. One of the most strenuous adversaries of the National Church, Tilemann Backhusius^r, a priest who had at first espoused the cause of his brethren, put forth an impertinent epistle to Colbert of Montpelier, as the supposed author of one of the most striking letters of Communion received by Steenoven:—"Tacitus gemo," writes he, "summoque animi dolore afficior cum hos dissensionis filios literis tuis, Pater Reverendissime, in Schismatis confirmationem tam impudenter abuti videam." This attack did no harm: but the national clergy had a severe loss in the death of Jacob Krys, whom we have seen concurring in the election and consecration of Archbishop Steenoven, and who was the first to interest the Bishop of Babylon in the affairs of the Church of Holland, and had throughout been one of the most zealous defenders of the national cause to be found in the diocese of Haarlem. He died, somewhat suddenly, on the 29th of October, only a fortnight after the consecration of Steenoven, and was succeeded by a young priest who inherited his zeal and learning, Cornelius Harteveld.

Death of
Jacob
Krys.

The consecration
declared
illicit and
execrable
by Benedict
XIII.

8. On the 21st of February in the following year, Benedict XIII., newly elected to the Papal throne, declared by a Brief the election of Cornelius Steenoven null, and his consecration illicit and execrable: forbade all Catholics to hold any communication with him *in divinis*; and fulminated the severest censures

^p The letter is given at length by Kemp, iii. 104—112.

^q Ibid. 113—120, and 121—128.

^r Ibid. 132.

against the consecrating prelate and his assistants. CHAP. X.
 The national clergy took a firm attitude; pointed out the errors in matter of fact which the Brief contained, and contended that it bore such evident marks of being surreptitiously obtained, as to be utterly invalid. It reached Holland at the end of March, and was indefatigably circulated, both in Latin and Dutch, by the Internuncio Spinelli and his agents. A host of replies, rejoinders, protestations, counter-protestations, &c. swarmed through Holland: of some of these I shall speak presently.

9. Towards the end of March the Archbishop was seized with a severe illness. He was already confined to his bed when the Brief reached Holland. Summoning his remaining strength, he replied by a protest, which is a model of composition in its way:—
Abp. Steenoven's last protest;

“In extreme danger, through the violence of disease, and soon to appear before the tribunal of the Supreme Judge, I wholly submit myself to His will, without Whose permission not one sparrow falleth to the ground. And although I acknowledge my sins to be many and great,—woe is me! too many and too great!—and confess that I am unable to answer my Judge, if He should sentence me according to justice without mercy, yet I cast not away hope, because I know that I have this same Judge, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, as my Advocate with the Father. I declare that I profess the Catholic faith, which I have always held, and my confession of which I lately sent to Rome, with the instrument of my election—that I now hold it, and that I desire to hold it to my last breath.”

After forgiving his enemies, and expressing the unwillingness with which he had acquiesced in his election, he continues:—

“I am ever ready to acknowledge in the Holy See all the prerogatives which the Catholic faith asserts; and I commend the rights of this Church to the strenuous defence of its

CHAP. X. Canons, whom nevertheless I charge to shew all reverence to the Apostolic Chair. . . . And now, from this Brief, from all the charges which it contains, and from all evils which through it, directly or indirectly, may threaten me and my Church, first calling on the Name of God, and protesting all due submission to the Roman Pontiff, I appeal to the first Œcumenical Council to which there may be free access, both for myself, for the Canons, and for all parish priests committed to my charge; and earnestly, and most earnestly, I demand the letters called *Apostoli* from those whose business it is to grant them. And I place myself, my clergy, my people, and the rights of this Church, under the protection of God and the said Œcumenical Council; and I reserve to them the right of renewing this appeal when and before whom shall seem to them good.—Done at Leyden, this 30th of March, 1725.

“CORNELIUS, Archbishop of Utrecht.”

and death,
April 3,
1725.

Four days afterwards, the Archbishop, having received the last Sacraments, with great resignation rendered up his spirit to the God Who gave it. He had bequeathed the defence of his Church to the Chapter, and we shall see how gallantly they fulfilled his trust.

CHAPTER XI.

CORNELIUS JOHN BARCHMAN WUYTIERS,

EIGHTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1725—1733.

1. THE death of Cornelius Steenoven was undoubtedly a great blow to the Church of Holland, not only from the loss of a faithful and diligent pastor, but because his decease, so shortly after his elevation to the episcopate, was stigmatized by the Ultramontanes as a notable punishment of sacrilege. This argument, however, was, as we shall see, pushed a little too far, and recoiled on its inventors. The Chapter assembled at Utrecht six days after the Bishop's death, and nominated as Vicar-General, the see vacant, Gisbert van Dyck, whom we have previously seen entrusted with the same office, and Cornelius John Barchman Wuytiers, at the same time raised to the place in the Chapter vacant by the decease of Archbishop Steenoven. The latter was a man of noble family; had studied, first with the Oratorians at Huissen, then in the College of Viglius at Louvain, and then at S. Magloire in Paris, where he resided several years. During that period he was one of the priests ordained by Bishop Soanen of Senez.

CHAP. XI

Van Dyck
and Barch-
man Wuy-
tiers Grand
Vicars.

2. A curious and delicate point now occurred. The Chapter of Haarlem, persisting in its selfish separation from Utrecht, had, nevertheless, to perpetuate its rights, elected a Grand Vicar, on the express condition that he should exercise no functions pertaining to that office. As early as 1715, the Chapter of Utrecht had

Difficulty
about a
Grand
Vicar for
Haarlem.

CHAP. XI. consulted the theologians of Louvain on the subject. It was granted on all hands that, if the Chapter of a suffragan diocese neglect, within the appointed time, to nominate a Vicar, their right lapses to the Metropolitan. The question therefore rose,—If the metropolitan see is vacant, does the right devolve to its Chapter? The divines found the enquiry one of difficulty. The Bishop, *qua* Bishop of a certain diocese, forms one body, they said, with his diocesan Chapter; whether the Metropolitan *qua* Metropolitan does the same, was a more difficult point^a. They had, however, at length decided in the affirmative; and the Chapter of Utrecht, now acting on that resolution, nominated Barchman Wuytiers to the Vicariate of Haarlem. The Chapter of that Church was stimulated into action, and by a capitular act denied that the choice of a Grand Vicar had fallen to the Metropolitan Chapter by right of devolution. While this bye-controversy was proceeding, the Chapter assembled for the election of an Archbishop on the 15th of May^b. The same formalities were observed by which the former election had been distinguished, but on this occasion the votes were unanimous, and the choice fell on Barchman Wuytiers. While application was made to Rome for the Papal Bulls, and—with the same strange foresight as before—for a dispensation that the consecration might be performed by one Bishop only, we must turn our attention to other matters.

Barchman
Wuytiers
Archbi-
shop-elect.

3. Among the crowd of works which deluged Holland on the election of Steenoven, the “History of

^a The correspondence on this subject, which is interesting, may be seen in Van Espen's Works, vol. v. pp. 313, 314.

^b The Chapter then consisted of

Van Erkel, dean; Daellenoot, Oosterling, Van Dyck, Van der Croon, Kemp, Broedersen, and Barchman Wuytiers.

the Church of Utrecht," by Hoyneck^c van Papendrecht, a canon of Mechlin, made the greatest sensation among those that favoured the Papal side. It appeared at Brussels and Cologne, in the shape of a small thin folio, containing, in the first place, a brief but most inaccurate sketch of the history of the Church of Utrecht, from its erection to a metropolis till the futile vicariate of Byevelt, then an appendix of letters, and then six dissertations against the rights of the Chapter, the last entitled "On the Illicit Consecration of Steenoven,"—in whose lifetime it appeared. It must be confessed that the good Canon is not very complimentary to his Ultramontane friends; for Go-vaerts, the impostor Desirant, and De Cock had all attacked the national party; yet in his dedication he complains that the cause of truth had found "no defenders." No doubt the favourite theory of the partizans of Rome had, up to this period, been that Vosmeer and Rovenius had been true Archbishops of Utrecht, because in their days a Catholic prince was *de jure* sovereign of the United Provinces; but that the Peace of Münster had converted those prelates into Vicars-Apostolic, because there could be no national episcopate where there was not a Catholic monarch. Hoyneck, however, saw the absurdity of such arguments, and such a conclusion, and he therefore boldly affirmed that, from the change of religion, Church and Chapter had collapsed, and that even Vosmeer was a mere Vicar-Apostolic. And this is the theory of modern Ultramontanes. A second, and much enlarged, edition of Hoyneck's, carried his assertions to an amusing pitch of daring. He there affirms that the see of Utrecht is not vacant; it is so

CHAP. XI.

Hoyneck
van Papen-
drecht's
History.

^c This name is spelt very variously: as given in a book in my possession, I follow Hoyneck's own orthography, once belonging to him.

CHAP. XI. utterly destroyed, that the Pope, even if he wished, could not revive it: a maxim on which Pius IX. has not acted. Hoyneck, however, did good service to the afflicted Church by the answers which he elicited. Broedersen's first *Tractatus Historicus*, which I have so often quoted, though tedious and long-winded, is perfectly crushing. Van Erkel's *Defensio Ecclesiæ Ultrajectinæ* demolishes the unfortunate Canon, if not more thoroughly, at least more smartly. The Bishop of Babylon's "Second Apology" remained without an answer; and Van Espen employed his matchless pen in a "Vindication of the Resolution of the Doctors of Louvain."

Its refutations.

Question of consecrations by one bishop.

4. But this great doctor was now himself in trouble, a trouble occasioned by his generous defence of Utrecht. One Damen, a doctor of Louvain, in attacking the consecration of Steenoven, declared it not only—in the words of the Papal Bull—execrable and illicit, but absolutely null and void; for, said he, three consecrating bishops, except by dispensation from Rome, are of the essence of ordination. Van Espen, consulted on the question by the indefatigable Van Erkel, completely demolished the Ultramontane partizan. He quoted the example of Pelagius, consecrated by two bishops only; of Evagrius, by Paulinus alone; of Siderius of Palæbisca, by Philo of Cyrene; and the first English consecrations, by S. Augustine. In later years, a Bishop of Nyssa *in partibus*, Vicar-Apostolic in China, had consecrated (1721) two bishops, without even any assistant priest. The Prince-Bishop of Liège had, Dec. 31, 1724, been elevated to the episcopate by a single bishop *in partibus*. In the same year, the Bishop of Antwerp had consecrated, unassisted, the Bishop of Rhodes. More remarkably still, a Bishop of Paraguay had, in 1657, distinctly

without dispensation, been consecrated by less than three bishops, and the Congregation of Rites allowed that the act was valid. At a later period, Herbert^c, a Canon of the Roman Catholic Chapter of London, reinforced this array, by mentioning that Stoner of Thespia *in partibus* was consecrated by Lucan alone; Petre, his vicar, by Giffard alone. Van Espen's treatise is known as the *Responsio Epistolaris*^d; and though the writer was in his eightieth year, it exhibits no decline of vigour or learning, if compared with his earlier performances. It was published in Holland, and the editor unfortunately prefixed a short preface, in which he urged that the consecration was not only valid, but licit. Damen made a feeble reply, and was encountered by an adversary really as formidable as Van Espen, in the person of Philip Lawrence Verhulst, one of the ablest writers that Holland ever produced, and of whom we shall soon hear more. Damen, worsted in argument, betook himself to force. He appealed to the Council of Brabant, and after two years of negotiations^e and chicanery, by a packed University tribunal, the book was condemned, and the author threatened with pains and penalties for a scandalous and pernicious work. No alternative but submission or flight remained to the great canonist. A niece, who had resided with him for a quarter of a century, and who, with true womanly feeling, cared infinitely less for the validity of consecrations by one bishop^f, or for the Church of Utrecht, than for a beloved and revered uncle, besought him, if he possibly could, to make some retraction that would satisfy his adversaries without compromising his own character:—

CHAP. XI.

The *Responsio Epistolaris* of Van Espen:

it is condemned.

^c The letter dated Feb. 16, 1728, is in the *Recueil*, p. 277.

^d Van Espen, *Opp. tom. v. p. 484.*

^e All these negotiations are re-

lated at great length, and not very clearly, in De Bellegarde's *Vie de Van Espen*, pp. 167, sqq.

^f *Vie de V. E.*, p. 99.

CHAP. XI. "No," he replied; "I have for years studied the cause of the clergy of Utrecht, for which I suffer: and after diligent prayer for the assistance of the HOLY GHOST, and careful consideration of the objections of the Papal party, I am more and more convinced of the justice of my first impressions, and am so certain of the equity and importance of this cause, that, if I hesitated to defend it, I should have occasion to fear lest JESUS CHRIST should be ashamed to own me as His disciple before the tribunal of the Supreme Judge."

He leaves
Louvain.

He withdrew, not without some risk, to Maestricht, where he took up his abode in the February of 1728.

Efforts of
the Papal
Court.

5. We have anticipated the course of events. Even before the death of Steenoven, the terror, as well as indignation, felt by the Papal Court may be judged by the extraordinary means taken to crush the Church of Utrecht. All Catholic princes were requested to use their influence at the Hague, for the banishment of those who supported it. Even the Republic of Venice wrote on the subject; and the States, in civil terms, bade it mind its own business. Rome now offered their High Mightinesses to allow a Bishop of Haarlem, if they would forbid the consecration of Barchman: but this mean and pitiful concession was made in vain.

Barchman
Wuytiers
at the
Helder.

Other methods were therefore to be tried. The Bishop of Babylon was now on a visit at the Helder. In this dreary desert of sand, shared almost equally by men and sea-gulls, where that tremendous dyke of Norwegian granite protects the flat waste from the race of the German Ocean through the Hell's Door, (whence the name,) into the Zuyder Zee,—a spot the inconceivable monotony and barrenness of which can be realised only by him that has visited it,—there existed then, and there exists still, a faithful remnant of the National Church. A lady warmly attached to the Ultramontane party was heard to boast that the Bishop of Babylon would not long trouble the country.

A few days subsequently, that prelate received a pressing invitation from the captain of a strange vessel, perfectly unknown to him, to honour him by dining on board. He politely refused, and the ship instantly left the harbour. Had he accepted the invitation, there can be no doubt that he would have been carried off. CHAP. XI.

6. An offer of reconciliation to Rome was now made. The Papal Court, it was said, was beginning to open its eyes to the true state of the case. The Bishop of Babylon had warm friends among the Cardinals. If he would but consent to defer the consecration, things might yet go well. There could be no hurry. Premature action might defeat its own end, and put a stop to all hope of reconciliation. The honesty of these offers was soon manifested by the Brief of Benedict XIII. (Aug. 23, 1725) against the election of Barchman Wuytiers, in which terms more outrageous than those employed against Steenoven were unsparingly used. On this occasion the Pontiff gave a curious proof of his infallibility as to facts. Allusion was made to the death of Archbishop Steenoven, as a visible mark of the Divine vengeance. "So also was that of the layman Doncker," proceeded the Brief, "a great supporter of that party, who died in impenitence and damnable disobedience." On the Sunday after receiving this instrument, M. Doncker, who was a highly respectable parish priest in Amsterdam, and in perfect health, publicly read this Brief from his pulpit; and we may conceive him then to have addressed his audience on the reasonableness of the Formula, and of the *Vincam Domini Sabaoth*. Those, we may remark, who drew up the next Brief against Archbishop Barchman's consecration learnt caution, and named no one but the prelate,—whose

Benedict
XIII. con-
demns the
election.

CHAPTER XI. name, however, they were still so unlucky as to spell wrong.

7. The steps taken by the Chapter on this were the same as on the previous occasion. The neighbouring Bishops were requested to attend the consecration; they were those of Antwerp, Roermonde, S. Omer, and Rhodiopolis *in partibus*, coadjutor of Cologne. No answer having been received from them, application was made to the Bishop of Babylon, both by the Chapter and by fifteen of the clergy of Haarlem, the first being that Doncker who had been slain by the Papal Brief^g. That prelate consented to grant their request, and on the 30th of September, 1725, being the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, and in the church of S. James at the Hague, he consecrated Barchman Wuytiers Archbishop of Utrecht. The letter in which the new prelate announced his consecration to the Pope was met by the usual reply: a Brief of Dec. 6 declared him and his clergy excommunicated and schismatic, as well as all those who should in any way assist or encourage him. The Archbishop rejoined by another appeal to the Future Council, to which his clergy gave in their adherence, and which he explained to his people by a *Mandement*, which was much admired. In his letter to the Pope, Archbishop Barchman had offered to resign his see if tranquillity could thus be restored to his Church. Thierry de Viaixnes manifested some uneasiness on the point. "It is perfectly unnecessary," was the reply: "if I resign, it will only be on these three conditions:—1. No Formulary; 2. no *Unigenitus*; and the rights of the Chapters recognised."

8. The letters of communion which were received

Consecra-
tion of
Barchman
Wuytiers.

^g Both letters are given in the "Second Apology" of the Bishop of Babylon, pp. 487, sqq. That of Utrecht, by Kemp, vol. v. p. 95.

at Utrecht amounted to more than a hundred, and were signed by at least two thousand ecclesiastics, principally French. Besides the bishops who had congratulated Archbishop Steenoven on his election, it is said on good authority that there were at least thirty French prelates who secretly acknowledged the rights, and gladly received communications from, the Church of Utrecht. The National Church was still further strengthened by the arrival of thirty-one Carthusians, compelled to leave France on account of the imposition of the *Unigenitus* in their order as a rule of faith; and fourteen Cistercians from the Abbey of Orval, in the duchy of Luxembourg. These were settled by the Archbishop in various localities of his diocese, and, on their settlement, they formally appealed to the future Œcumenical Council^a.

CHAP. XI.

Arrival of
Carthu-
sians and
Cistercians.

9. One of the most remarkable events which distinguished the episcopate of Barchman Wuytiers was the attempt made by him to bring about the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. The first idea appears to have arisen among some of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and more especially to have interested Monsieur Boursier, whose reputation for learning and piety gave him considerable influence at Paris. When Peter the Great was residing in that metropolis, among its other remarkable institutions, he visited the house of the Sorbonne; and some of the doctors took occasion to lament in his presence the divisions which separated Eastern from Western Christendom. He promised to submit any memorial which they might address to him to the consideration of his bishops—at that time under the influence of Theodosius, Archbishop of Novgorod, and Theophanes of Pskoff, by no means indisposed to forward a union with Rome.

Reunion
of the East-
ern and
Wester
Churches.^a Kemp, part vi. p. 80.

CHAP. XI. Those prelates took the documents into their consideration, and returned two replies to the proposals which they had received. Their answers were unfortunately addressed to the infamous Cardinal Dubois, the same who traversed the negotiations between our own Archbishop Wake and Dupin for the reconciliation of the Anglican and Gallican Churches,—and he at once quashed the whole proceedings. They were renewed on occasion of the reception of the Princess Galitsin, the wife of Prince Dolgorouki, at that time in Holland, into the Roman Church. She made her profession of the Latin faith to Archbishop Barchman, on the Feast of S. Barnabas, 1727, and requested from him a priest of the Roman communion who might take charge of her family in Russia. He made choice of Mons. Jubé, ex-incumbent of Asnières, in the diocese of Paris, who had found it necessary to retire into Holland on account of his refusal to accept the Bull *Unigenitus*. The affair was discussed both at Utrecht and at the Sorbonne, and it was at one time proposed to invest him with the episcopal character; and it was understood that Javoski, Archbishop of Riazan, Lapatinski, of Tver, and the Metropolitan of Kieff, were by no means unwilling that the consecration should take place. Archbishop Barchman, however, contented himself with giving Mons. Jubé all the powers that could be entrusted to a priest, and that ecclesiastic, after visiting Paris, and receiving the blessing of the Archbishop, Cardinal de Noailles, took his departure for Moscow. He was received in the most favourable manner, and the negotiations seemed to be happily proceeding, till the death of Peter put an end to them, as it did to those which at the same time were pending between the Russian and the Scotch bishops. His successor, the Empress Anne, had conceived a mortal

Mission of
M. Jubé
to Russia.

hatred to the whole family of the Dolgoroukis : any-
 thing in which they had interested themselves was to
 be crushed ; and M. Jubé, after inventing all the pre-
 texts for delay which his ingenuity could furnish, was
 obliged to return to Holland.

10. During the progress of these negotiations in
 Russia, the attention of Archbishop Barchman was
 directed to another mission of great interest. It was
 proposed to endeavour to convert the islands of Laos, Proposed mission to the Laos.
 on the Malabar coast, and to form those missionaries
 in India who had refused to accept the *Unigenitus*,
 into a mission independent of the Propaganda. The
 Bishop of Babylon and the Archbishop exerted them-
 selves strenuously in carrying out the project, and
 their efforts were redoubled when they received the
 intelligence that, on the death of the Bishop of La-
 randa *in partibus*, Vicar-Apostolic of Tonkin, the Court
 of Rome refused to appoint any successor, because
 his clergy, almost to a man, rejected the Bull. Great
 interest was also felt at Paris with respect to the
 scheme, and Father Terrasson, of the Oratory, was to
 have been appointed head of the mission. But before
 the ecclesiastics who composed it could sail, Tessier,
 Bishop of Rosalia *in partibus*, and Vicar-Apostolic of
 Siam, without whose co-operation success was hardly
 to be expected, drew back. He could not, he said,
 risk the certain indignation of the Court of Rome for
 the uncertain benefits derivable from such a mission :
 his brethren had better overcome their scruples, and
 receive the obnoxious Bull as best they might. The
 attempt, however, might in all probability have been
 notwithstanding made, had not the death of Arch-
 bishop Barchman intervened.

11. The increasing years and declining health of the

CHAP. XI. Bishop of Babylon naturally rendered the Archbishop
 Declining anxious to provide for the maintenance of the suc-
 health of cession in the Church of Utrecht. The episcopate, so
 the Bishop of Babylon. wonderfully bestowed on that communion, must not,
 he felt, be lost by its own negligence. On all accounts
 it seemed most proper to fill the see of Haarlem, which
 had remained vacant since 1587. It was not only the
 first of the suffragans of Utrecht, but the number of
 Catholics in that diocese was greater than in any other,
 except Utrecht itself; the Chapter had perpetuated it-
 self under its ancient title without adopting, as in the
 metropolitical see, the name of Vicariate; and till the
 year 1717, had named Vicars-general during the va-
 cancy of the see. The canons, however, had, as we have
 seen, little by little deserted the cause of the National
 Church; their Vicars-general had been raised to that
 phantom of an office on the express condition that they
 should not exercise its rights; and, as I have already
 related, the Metropolitical Chapter had nominated, by
 right of devolution, another ecclesiastic to that dignity.
 After consulting various theologians, and more espe-
 cially Van Espen, Archbishop Barchman gave formal
 Negotiations for a notice to the Chapter of Haarlem that they were bound
 bishop at to proceed to the election of a bishop, and that if
 Haarlem. they neglected within the space of three months to
 do so, the nomination to the episcopate would devolve
 to himself, as Metropolitan. They allowed the three
 months to pass, and the Archbishop, after procuring
 another "consultation" from Van Espen, adopted by
 the French canonist Le Gros, convened his Metro-
 political Chapter for the 16th of June, 1727. The
 principal among the clergy of Haarlem were invited to
 attend, and the Bishop of Babylon was present, as
 holding the place of a suffragan. After the mass of

the HOLY GHOST, and a discussion as to the respective CHAP. XI. merits of various ecclesiastics proposed, the unanimous choice of the assembly fell on Theodore Doncker, whom we have already mentioned. The Archbishop had intended at once to proceed to his consecration, but various writings of his own on the subject of usury had at this time raised a storm which threatened the welfare, if not the existence, of the National Church; and the elevation of Doncker to the episcopate was for the present deferred. On his death, which occurred in 1731, the clergy of Haarlem made new efforts to obtain a prelate,—efforts, however, which were not crowned with success till some years later.

12. An event which occurred at Amsterdam at the commencement of 1727, occasioned as much sensation Miracle of Agatha Stout-handel. in that city as the miracles, real or imaginary, of the deacon Paris had done in France. A girl, by name Agatha Leenderts Stouthandel, who had been for some years suffering from dropsy, with a complication of other disorders, pronounced incurable by the physicians, had a strong impression produced on her mind that if she could communicate from the hand of the Archbishop, she should be cured. She did so on the Feast of the Epiphany, and, it is said, instantly recovered perfect health. Barchman appointed a commission, consisting of three of his clergy, to enquire into the authenticity of the alleged miracle. Their report is given by Kemp¹. In the three months which their enquiries occupied, they received the depositions of three medical men, a hundred and thirty Catholics, and more than thirty Protestants, all of whom attested the reality of the disease, and the

¹ vol. ix. pp. 53—68.

CHAP. XI. suddenness of the cure. It seems hard to resist such a weight of evidence, which it was never even attempted by the Roman party to break down. The only circumstance which would seem in any degree to derogate from the authenticity of the miracle, was the fact that the avowed and principal wish of Agatha Stouthandel, in communicating, was not so much her own restoration to health, as the procuring an irrefragable testimony to the righteousness of the cause which the National Church supported. The Jesuit writers of the time ridiculed the occurrence, but made no attempt to discredit the witnesses.

Death of
Van Espen,
Oct. 2,
1728 ;

13. During the course of these events, Archbishop Barchman was engaged in drawing up the constitution of the Seminary at Amersfoort: the excellence of his rules is proved by their remaining still in force. Nor was he behindhand in asserting from time to time the rights of his Church by his pen. He had the melancholy satisfaction of attending the death-bed of the exiled Van Espen, and of assisting at his funeral. I have visited, in the once magnificent church of S. George at Amersfoort, the tomb of this great canonist. He preferred, says his epitaph, exile from his country in extreme old age to the desertion of justice and truth, by giving up the cause of the Archbishop and clergy of Utrecht, and acquiescence in the too-famous *Unigenitus*. His tomb is in the family vault of the Foeyts, and at the entrance to the choir. Archbishop Barchman's pastoral letters of Dec. 30, 1725, on the duties and responsibilities of a bishop ; that of April 10, 1730, on the death of Benedict XIII. ; and the letter which he addressed to Bishop Soanen, of Senez, on the result of the Council of Embrun, received the highest commendations at the time, and are still much valued.

The Archbishop's death occurred suddenly at his house at Rhijnwijek, near Utrecht, on the 13th of May, 1733. The Bishops Soanen, of Senez, Caylus, of Auxerre, and Colbert, of Montpellier, lament it as one of the greatest blows that the Church could have suffered^k.

^k Dom Pitra, in his *Hollande Catholique*, represents the episcopate of Barchman as one scene of confusion and internal disputes. The difficulties which really occurred on the subject of usury, and in which men equally earnest might fairly take

different sides, are magnified by him into a perfect schism. The unanimity with which the election of his successor was made is a sufficient proof that there was no real division in the Church.

CHAP. XI.
and of the
Archbi-
shop, May
13, 1733.

CHAPTER XII.

THEODORE VAN DER CROON, NINTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1733—1738.

CHAP.
XII. —
Election of
Theodore
van der
Croon.

1. ON the 22nd of July, 1733, the Chapter^a met and unanimously elected Theodore van der Croon, one of the canons, and pastor at Gonda, to the archbishopric. He was a man of singularly gentle character, but had been the firm adherent of the National Church from the time that the schism had broken out. His name appears in the memorial addressed by three hundred of the clergy to the cardinals in defence of Archbishop Codde. Since that time he had been leading a retired life in his cure. It appears that there was not wanting a party in the Church of Utrecht who were for coming to terms with Rome at whatever cost. "Alas, alas!" writes one of these, in a letter preserved in the Archives, "how long is this schism to last? The death of Barchman was the happy moment at which it might have been finished. But, as I hear, they are proceeding to the election of Van der Croon. Alas, alas! the schism will then be confirmed for ever." The Archbishop-elect and the Chapter^b wrote, on the 26th of August and the 1st of September, to Pope Clement XII., to inform him of the election, and

^a The Chapter consisted of Van Erkel, Van Daellenoot, Van Dyck, Van der Croon, Kemp, Broederssen, Valkenburg, Meganck;—the former elected in the place of Barchman Wuytiers, the latter of Oosterling, who was dead. Tract. Hist. i. 161.

^b The proceedings of Van der

Croon and his Chapter are related at length in the *Acta quædam Ecclesiæ Ultrajectinæ*, published by De Hondt, at the Hague, in 1737, and dedicated by Van der Croon, in a letter, to the archbishops and bishops of Germany. It is a thin quarto of 176 pages.

to solicit a dispensation for the performance of the act by one bishop. After waiting nearly a year, Van der Croon addressed a second letter to the same Pontiff; and four neighbouring bishops were then invited to assist at the consecration. In the meantime efforts were not wanting, on the part of her adversaries, to put a violent end to the existence of the Church of Holland.

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2. In the November of 1733, Acunha, Portuguese ambassador at the Hague, solicited an interview with the Bishop of Babylon, through the medium of the Princess d'Auvergne. This lady imagining, to use her own words, that the aged sinner was really anxious to be assisted in the work of repentance, endeavoured to arrange the meeting: but more discreet friends of the Bishop recalled to his memory his narrow escape from being carried off in the merchant-ship at the Helder, and requested him, if the interview were to take place, that it should not be, as proposed, at the Hague, but either at Utrecht or at the castle of Zeist. The meeting was fixed at the latter place; but to the great astonishment of the Bishop, he found on his arrival, not Acunha, but De Fénelon, the French ambassador, by whom he was earnestly entreated to return to his native country, promised an honourable reception, and benefices to the amount which he might regard as necessary for his comfort and dignity. The offer, of course, was politely declined, and Acunha bitterly reproached De Fénelon for not having seized so favourable an opportunity, and carried off the Bishop.

Attempts
to hinder
the con-
secration;

3. No reply having been received either from the Pope or from the prelates to whom they had addressed themselves, the Chapter again besought the assistance of the Bishop of Babylon, and on the 28th of October he consecrated the Archbishop-elect, Daellenoord and

which
neverthe-
less takes
place.

C H A P.
XII.

Kemp assisting in the place of bishops. The action was followed, as before, by an excommunication from Rome; to which the Archbishop and the Chapter replied as previously, by an appeal to the future Council^c.

Controversy with
the Cardinal d'Al-
sace.

4. Van der Croon, whose judgment was not equal to his patience and forbearance, thought that if he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Mechlin, then the Cardinal d'Alsace, the righteousness of his cause must convert that influential prelate to the side of the national Church. Against the advice of his Chapter, he forwarded a copy of the appeal, together with a short letter, in which he entreated the good offices of the Cardinal-Archbishop with the Court of Rome; and in due course of time received, through the press, a reply which commenced thus:—

“To Theodore van der Croon, false Bishop: a right judgment, and not to deride the Church of God.

“Whence comes the hardihood, Theodore, and the presumption, which has induced you to write to me? Who are you, and whence come you? I am, you will say, Archbishop of Utrecht. Who gave you the episcopate? From whom do you hold the title? Your usurpation of the name is the subject of ridicule to the nation: the Church detests it, the Pope condemns you; every Catholic Bishop refuses to recognise you; the Protestants themselves will not tolerate you.”

After proceeding in the same strain,—

“Your appeal,” he adds, “to the Future Council, Theodore, is futile, invalid, and shameful: the example of heretics is the only example which you have followed; and the act itself is another reason why I never have had, and never will have, ecclesiastical communion with you. Your appeal will be ever considered by me damnable and execrable. I need no further reason for refusing to hold with you and with yours any conversation, any union, any correspondence; nor will I, following the commandment of S. John, even bid you God speed.”

^c It is given in the *Acta quædam*, among the many appeals of the pp. 37—73, and is one of the longest Church of Utrecht.

In the same strain the Cardinal, or rather the writer C H A P. XII. whose pen he employed, runs on through twenty quarto pages:—

“You obtain nothing, you avail nothing, when you assert that you ‘have never done or thought anything against the one holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and the authority of the Holy See, to which you will cling with undivided communion, even to your last breath.’ I have seen double-tongued men, but never one more impudent than yourself. You who glory shamelessly and impudently, and that in addressing me, a Cardinal of the Roman Church,—that you have adhered to all the appeals put forth by your party during the last fifteen years, from the decrees of the Holy See, whether dogmatical or regarding the state of the Churches in the United Provinces; you who do not blush to spit in my face when you write that you have never departed from the canonical path; who have written, and set your name to it, that you would rather die with Steenoven than be of one mind with the Roman Pontiff; and, while you refuse to obey him, vociferate like a fanatic, ‘Let me die the death of the righteous.’ Where is your shame? where is your modesty? The Lord look upon it and require it!”

5. To this letter Van der Croon opposed a “Defence,” Archbishop Van der Croon's Defence. in which he gives a detailed and temperate account of the history of the separated Church of Holland. In replying to his opponent, he is careful to treat the work which bore his name as if it were—which indeed was the case—the composition of writers engaged by a party, and for a party cause. He dwells on the fact that the bitterest adversaries of the Church of Utrecht had never ventured even to accuse her of false doctrine; that if a Church were schismatical because its prelates were consecrated without Papal Bulls, Meletius and Flavian of Antioch, Acacius and Ignatius of Constantinople, instead of being reckoned among the saints, should have been numbered among the schis-

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matics ; while in later times, and in the same diocese, there was the case of Rudolf Diephold, excommunicated by Martin V., and re-established by Eugenius IV., which proved the futility of the Cardinal's arguments.

The Cardinal d'Alsace vainly endeavours to rejoin.

6. The writer whom the Archbishop of Mechlin had before employed, replied by a letter of four quarto pages, and bearing date Sept. 18, 1736. It would probably be difficult to find a pamphlet of greater virulence. The partizans of the Ultramontane faction openly expressed their disgust, and Clement XII. seems to have felt it but due to himself to address a Brief to the Archbishop of Mechlin in condemnation of his intemperate zeal. He begins, indeed, by commending his efforts for the maintenance of the rights of the Holy See, but concludes by earnestly exhorting the Archbishop to confine his future endeavours for the welfare of the Church of Holland to his prayers. On this, and on other documents, Van der Croon based a second "Defence," which remained without reply^d.

It is worth while to notice that, in the four great controversies between the two parties, the Church of Holland has always silenced her opponents. Thus it was in the first, between 1709 and 1714, carried on on the one side by the notorious Bernard Desirant, and Bonaventura Van Dyck, on the other by Van

^d Van der Croon's conclusion is very striking. The Cardinal had ended his second reply by the quotation from S. Augustine,—"*Erit ergo mihi ad defensionem testis hæc Epistola in iudicio Dei, qui novit, quo animo fecerim.*" "*Utinam,*" exclaims Van der Croon, "*potius contremescens ad illum divini nominis testificaturam! Hæc in Augustini verbis sancta, a te quo vel colere usurpari potest? Hoc tu rescrip-*

tum alterum optas in iudicio Dei adhiberi? Avertat a te Dominus affectum tam funestæ imprecationis! Nisi enim ante tremendum illum diem Christi Sanguine et tuis lacrymis deleatur utrumque rescriptum, quid aliud erit, nisi propriæ condemnationis frustra tunc defendendum Chi-rographum? Tibi exitum opto meliorem; et jam nunc spiritum pœnitentiæ et humilitatis."—p. 176.

Erkel, who proved himself more than a match for both his opponents put together. So also in the second, (1725—1730,) when Hoynck van Papendrecht encountered Van Espen, Van Erkel, and Broedersen. So, again, in that which I have just related. And so, lastly, as we shall see, between the Abbé Buys on the part of the national clergy, and Le Sage Tenbroek on that of the intruders.

7. The vexed question of a diocesan at Haarlem was agitated during the whole episcopate of Van der Croon. Difficulties presented themselves on all sides: the fear of offending Rome, the dread of overstepping the bounds which might seem prudent to the more moderate Gallican party, and the apprehension of what the States themselves might feel with respect to the second national episcopate. It was proposed rather to nominate a coadjutor to Utrecht; and Verhulst, the most able of all the writers who have ever defended the Church of Utrecht, was strongly in favour of this measure. But, after all, more timid counsels prevailed. The Bishop of Babylon still lived: and while he survived there was no fear that the national episcopate should come to an end.

It was amidst these difficulties that Archbishop Van der Croon departed this life, in the fifth year of his episcopate, on the 9th of June, 1739.

C H A P.
XII.

Difficulties
with re-
spect to a
diocesan of
Haarlem.

Death of
Archbi-
shop Van
der Croon.

CHAPTER XIII.

PETER JOHN MEINDAERTS, TENTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1739, TILL THE COUNCIL OF UTRECHT, 1760.

CHAP.
XIII.

Election of
Peter John
Mein-
daerts.

1. HITHERTO the prelates who had presided over the separated Church of Holland had rather been distinguished for the gentleness of their disposition, and their acknowledged piety, than for their talents and determination. Van der Croon, in particular, recalls to our remembrance James de la Torre, and the unfortunate *Concessionēs Ephesinæ*, which had disgraced his episcopate. The Chapter having learnt from the controversy between the Archbishop of Mechlin and their late prelate, that conciliatory measures were perfectly unavailing, elected an ecclesiastic of very different stamp, Peter John Meindaerts, at that time Archpriest of Leeuwarden, and Dean of Friesland. He was one of those who had been ordained priest in 1716, as I have before related, by Luke Fagan, Bishop of Meath. The usual notice of the election, and request for a dispensation, were despatched to Rome; the ordinary silence was preserved by the Papal See: as on former occasions, the Bishop of Babylon was adjured to have pity on the widowed Church; and by him, accordingly, the Archbishop-elect was consecrated, on S. Luke's Day, 1739. It afterwards appeared that, twelve days before this event, Clement XII. had issued a Brief, by which he declared the election itself null and execrable.

Brief of
Benedict
XIV.

2. This Brief reached Holland, together with the news of its author's death; and the new Archbishop, therefore, did not consider it necessary to appeal. But

Benedict XIV., by his Brief of Jan. 14, 1741, rendered such a step unavoidable. It contained stronger language, the more remarkable as proceeding from so moderate and learned a Pontiff, than any previous document of the same kind. In it the Archbishop is characterized as a child of iniquity, a most unnatural son of the tenderest of fathers, a deceitful and savage wolf, an accomplished seducer, a madman, whose case is almost desperate. The appeal bears date July 1, 1741, and shortly afterwards an event took place which rendered a decisive step on the part of the Church of Holland immediately necessary. This was the decease of the Bishop of Babylon, who died the death of the righteous, at the Hague, on May 14, 1742. Not unnaturally, the character of this prelate has been drawn in the blackest colours by Ultramontane writers. But his intimate friendship with great and good men, like Arnauld and the rest of the Port-Royalists, and the particular esteem which Van Espen entertained for his character and writings, would have secured him, even if his own acts had not done so, an honourable memory in the annals of the Church. His letters, many of which I have read in the Archives, are full of a tenderness and unction which one might not have expected from an author of the ponderous learning which distinguishes his two "Apologies."

C H A P.
XIII.

Death of
the Bishop
of Baby-
lon.

3. The succession in the Church of Holland now hung on a single life, and it was felt on all sides that a second intervention of Providence, such as that which had against his will sent the Bishop of Babylon from the shores of the Caspian to those of the Zuyder Zee, was not to be expected. Difficulties which had hitherto appeared insurmountable were now at once got over, and the Chapter at Haarlem still refusing to act, the Archbishop, with the consent of that part of

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XIII.

Consecra-
tion of a
Bishop of
Haarlem.

the clergy of the see which acknowledged his authority, nominated Jerome de Bock to the bishopric of Haarlem, and consecrated him on Sept. 2, 1742. The usual Briefs of excommunication followed this proceeding; and the clergy, in their appeal to the Future Council, took the opportunity of declaring that, having once placed themselves under the protection of an appeal, it was useless to renew it on every fresh Brief issued by the Court of Rome; and in point of fact, more than forty years elapsed before another was thought necessary.

Statistics
of the
national
Church.

4. We will now give a glance at the numerical strength and local position of the National Church at this period. The archbishopric consisted of five archpriestdoms:—*Utrecht*, with twelve parishes—namely, Utrecht, with its six; Amersfoort, with two; Hilversum, Kuilenburg, Vianen, and Polsbroek, with one each; *Rhijnland*, containing Leyden, Zoetermeer, and Roelevaartjesveen, with one each; *Delfland*, containing Delft, with two parishes; the Hague, Ryswyck, and Eykenduinen, with one each; *Schieland*, containing Rotterdam, with two parishes; Schiedam, Delfts-haven, and Kralingen, with one each; *South Holland*, containing Dordrecht and Gouda, with two parishes each; Schoonhoven, Oudewater, Briel, and Gorcum, with one each. The bishopric of Haarlem contained Amsterdam, with eight parishes; Haarlem and Enkhuizen, with two; Zaandam, Krommenie, Aalsmeer, Egmond, and the Helder, with one each. Besides this, one parish at Leeuwarden, and the island of Noordstrand, in the duchy of Sleswick, were in the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. This gives a total of fifty-two parishes—thirty-three in the archbishopric, seventeen in the bishopric of Haarlem, one in that of Leeuwarden.

5. Bishop de Bock survived his consecration less than three years, and on his decease John van Stiphout was raised to the vacant see. Broedersen, then Canon, afterwards Dean, of Utrecht, who had, in 1729, published the first of his treatises in reply to Hoynck's book, was engaged in a correspondence with friends at Rome, and especially with Cardinal Passionei, who had himself been in Holland, and was interested in the rights of its Church. As matters appeared promising, an Exposition of Doctrine was forwarded to Rome in 1744, of which it may be well to give some account. After a short protest, in which the clergy declare their unshaken adherence to the faith of the Church, they adopt the five articles forwarded by the Bishop of Comminges to Alexander VII., in 1663^a, and by him approved. They are all concerned with the question of Grace. The second runs thus:—

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John van
Stiphout,
Bishop of
Haarlem.

The "Ex-
position of
Doctrine."

6. "Interior grace is twofold: the one efficacious, which always produces that effect to which it impels the will; the other inefficacious, which excites the will to an effect which it does not produce. The former of these graces is that which the Thomists call simply, properly, and absolutely efficacious. To this resistance may indeed be always opposed, as the same school teaches; but never such resistance as to deprive it of that effect to which it impels the will. Which, in other words, they thus express: it may be resisted in a divided sense, but not in a composite sense. The second grace is that which they sometimes call excitant, sometimes inefficacious, sometimes sufficient,—all these terms meaning one and the same thing. To this the will resists, against this the will struggles, and deprives it of that effect to which it excites, and for which it bestows *sufficient* power (the word

Interior
grace.

^a These articles were drawn up by La Lane and Girard, approved at Rome, but declared by the Council of Conscience, and its presiding spirit, Annat, insufficient. Ferrier, their Ultramontane adversary, says,

"Sed ita ad Thomistarum doctrinam accedebant, ut non recederent a Janseniana:" on which the Abbé Guettée remarks, "Il n'y a qu'un Jésuite qui pût apercevoir une nuance aussi délicate." (x. 387.)

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sufficient being taken in the meaning of the Thomists, which has been before explained). The will *may* consent to it, but yet in point of fact never does consent, in the absence of *efficacious* grace; not through defect of antecedent power, but from its free determination and concupiscence. But although that grace, considered in and by itself, does not obtain the effect to which it tends, to which it excites the will, and to which by the antecedent will of God it is destined, and therefore it is false to assert in this sense that all grace of CHRIST always obtains that effect which God wills; yet if it be considered in conjunction with the absolute will of God, it may most rightly be called *efficacious* in this sense, because it always operates on the heart of man that which God's absolute will intends that it should operate. The Thomists hold it for certain that help, which is merely *sufficient* in respect of our action, is always *efficacious* in respect of that other action for which it is destined by the absolute decree of the Divine will; and therefore, according to their teaching, all grace is efficacious of some effect; that effect, namely, for which it is proximately ordained, and which God by His absolute will intends, according to that saying of Isaiah, 'My word which goeth forth out of My mouth shall not return unto Me void.'"

7. The fifth is on Predestination, and is conceived thus:—

Predesti-
nation.

"The doctrine of gratuitous predestination has obtained, and that deservedly, the principal authority in all Catholic schools. The sum of that doctrine, as received by all its defenders, is as follows:—That to the elect alone, if we regard—not the antecedent, but—the absolute and efficacious will of God, eternal salvation is destined by the absolute decree of God, together with that series of graces and benefits by which they are most certainly set free who are set free; of which benefits the chief is the gift of perseverance, which none will deny to be proper to the predestinate. Hence it follows that CHRIST, Whose absolute will is always the same with that of the FATHER, willed, simply and absolutely, to change this decree neither by His prayers nor by His death. Therefore He willed, absolutely and efficaciously, to merit eternal salvation and the gift of perseverance for those who,

as He saith in the Gospel, were given to Him by the FATHER, and whom no man should pluck out of His hands. C H A P.
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On this head all the defenders of gratuitous predestination are agreed; they only exclude that general notion of CHRIST's death having been borne for all, by which it is meant that it bestowed on all men grace so sufficient as not additionally to need efficacious grace to will or to do. But, in rejecting that opinion, it is not forbidden, nay, rather it is perfectly consonant with truth, to assert that CHRIST died and shed His Blood for all men everywhere; both because He willed, with an antecedent will, the salvation of all, and also because He paid a sufficient price for all. But it is false and heretical to say that CHRIST died only for the salvation of the predestinate, since He merited *sufficient* grace (using the word *sufficient* in a Thomistic sense) to enable them to attain to salvation for many that shall be lost, and for all that were ever justified; although no man uses well those sufficient graces, and perseveres in the righteousness he has received, unless he be assisted by those richer and efficacious helps."

They then quote the approbation which these Articles had met with from almost every Thomist of eminence, from more than one General of the Dominicans, from the Doctors of Louvain, and from Steyaert, the bitter enemy of the Jansenists; and the approbation with which they had been honoured by Alexander VII.

8. Next they proceed to adopt the Articles presented by the University of Louvain, in 1677, to Innocent XI., principally with respect to the corrupted morals of the Jesuits. Of these it may suffice to quote those that follow:— Articles of
Louvain.

"Of the Theological Virtues.

"1. The fundamental and primary commandment of the Divine law is this: 'Thou shalt love the LORD thy God with all thy soul, and thy neighbour as thyself.'

"2. Although some of the schoolmen understand the word *charity* of that affection alone which consists of our friend-

ship with Him, through the remission of sins, S. Augustine and other fathers are accustomed to take it for any love of the Supreme Good for its own sake.

"3. Hence the same holy doctor speaks of charity as in its infancy, advanced, adult, robust, perfect; and the latter of two kinds—the one of the present, the other of the future, life; which distinction is also frequently employed by S. Thomas.

"4. Therefore, charity and concupiscence, taken as generic terms, are nothing else than good or evil will; they are the good and evil root, of which the one can only bring forth good, the other only evil, fruit.

"5. Every work, that it may be perfectly good and without any spot even of venial sin, must proceed from such charity, and must by it be referred to the LORD GOD; for, as S. Augustine testifies, no fruit is good which does not spring from the root of charity.

"6. But this reference to God need not be through perfect charity,—it is sufficient that it be through imperfect charity.

"7. Neither is it necessary that it should be from actual charity, or from that charity of which the mind is actually sensible at the time.

"8. For this continual reflection on what we have in hand is impossible, through the many distractions of this life.

"9. It suffices, therefore, that our works be referred to God by virtual charity.

"10. This continual and virtual love must have reference, not only to God, but also to our neighbour. God forbid that it should be enough for Christian righteousness only not to hate God, or only to shew external kindness to our neighbour!

"11. We lie under an equal obligation of exercising faith and hope, and by these we are bound constantly to adhere, at least virtually, to the Divine Majesty.

"12. Faith must be the firmest of all assents. S. Clement of Alexandria rightly teaches that it is of more force than any demonstration. Wherefore, whoever thinks that it may be only a probable belief, has already been condemned with Peter Abaelard.

"13. It must not be natural, but altogether supernatural, and dependent on the authority of God who speaks; and by it are believed the divine promises and revelations.

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"14. The faith which is necessary to righteousness and salvation must have express reference to the One Essence of the Divine Majesty and to its Three Persons; also to God as the Rewarder, and to CHRIST as the Mediator. It must also have learnt His incarnation, passion, death, and resurrection.

"15. Faith, expressly referring to all these, is the necessary medium of justification.

"16. Hence, bishops, priests, curates, and other directors of souls, are most rigidly bound to instruct their people on all of them, which precept has been rightly renewed by the Council of Trent."

"Of Falsehood and Homicide.

"1. We must so employ words as that the expressions we use (the circumstances which are within the understanding of the auditor being also taken into consideration) may be in agreement with that which we intend.

"2. If the contrary take place with an oath, it is perjury; if without an oath, it is falsehood; neither of which can be excused by any expediency or necessity.

"3. God has not given the power of life and death to private persons in such a manner as that it is lawful to kill an aggressor for the preservation of property, nor of honour, nor even of chastity.

"4. Some affirm that it is lawful to slay the man who unjustly seeks your own life; others deny it: the latter on the authority of S. Augustine; the former on that of S. Thomas."

"Of Contrition and Confession.

"1. Frequent confession and communion, if only performed rightly, are exceedingly laudable and advantageous.

"2. The frequent confession of even venial sins—although without fault they may remain unconfessed, and can be expiated by many other remedies—is nevertheless right and useful, and free from all presumption.

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"3. The servile fear of hell is by no means in itself evil, but good and useful; but attrition, which is based upon this fear alone, even when joined with the sacrament, is not sufficient for justification, because, for the reception of that grace, it is necessary that we should believe and hope in God, and love Him for Himself. True attrition is grief of heart for, and abhorrence of, committed sin, together with a resolution of not committing it again, which excludes the desire of sinning. But it need not include perfect charity, for that reconciles a man to God before this sacrament is actually received.

"4. Nevertheless, although imperfect, it must yet be the true love of God by which the penitent loves the Lord God as the Fountain of all righteousness, and therefore deserts and hates his sins. Some call this kind of charity, the love of God above all things.

"5. If the penitent be questioned concerning former habits of sin, especially when they have become inveterate, in order that its cure may be the more easily discovered, he is bound to answer.

"6. Also the circumstances which notably aggravate each particular kind of sin are to be expressed.

"7. The denial, or procrastination of absolution, is sometimes necessary, sometimes useful, sometimes pernicious. Wherefore, not only knowledge, but wisdom also, is necessary to a priest. He must therefore beseech from the Lord God the grace of discerning spirits.

"8. The aforesaid procrastination, or denial, if it be only useful, and not necessary, cannot take place if the penitent be unwilling to submit to it.

"9. The reasons which make it necessary are especially three:—The first is ignorance of the necessary articles of faith. 2. A defect of disposition; as, for example, of contrition. 3. A proximate occasion of sin, which is either so from the nature of the thing, or from the character of the person.

"10. Some examples under the last head are adduced by Gregory VII. in his Roman Synod: 'We call those false penances which are not imposed, as the Fathers teach they

should be, in analogy with the sin. Therefore, if a soldier, or a merchant, or the holder of any office which cannot be exercised without sin, or one who unjustly detains the property of another, or one who bears malice in his heart, should allow that he cannot exercise that true repentance by which he may inherit eternal life, unless he lays aside his arms and bears them no more, (save only by the council of religious bishops, in defence of a righteous cause,) or relinquishes his traffic, or gives up his office, or expels malice from his heart, or restores the property which he has unjustly seized, he cannot be absolved. But, until he is prepared to give up these things, lest he should fall into despair, we exhort him to do whatever good he can, that the ALMIGHTY GOD may dispose his heart to repentance.’”

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Articles of
Louvain.

To these they add twelve Articles sent by De Noailles to Benedict XIII., and approved by him: they are little else than an abstract of those of Louvain.

9. These Articles were extremely well received at Rome; Benedict XIV. caused them to be read over to him, and allowed the message to be sent as indirectly from himself, that he found nothing to object to in any of them. The negotiation was again set on foot; but Rome insisted in the first place on the acceptance of the Formulary and the *Unigenitus*, the revocation of all appeals, and on the Archbishop's seeking absolution, at all events *ad cautelam*. These conditions were indignantly rejected. There was, however, a certain Augustinian, named Antony Hochkirchen, who offered his services to the Church of Holland, and affirmed—to use his own expression—that with a golden key he could do anything. “I cannot,” said he, “work miracles. I can only employ human means; and rely upon it, the Italians will never give something for nothing.” The Archbishop and the Chapter were not particularly eager to commence negotiations on such a basis; but a rich lay-

Their favourable
reception
at Rome.

Negotiation of
Hochkirchen.

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man having offered a thousand ducats, Hochkirchen commenced his operation. After the lapse of two years, however, it was found that this man had been cajoling both parties, and his services were accordingly discontinued.

Death
of John
Christian
Van Erkel.

Negotia-
tion of
Father
Norbert.

10. While the affair was proceeding, Van Erkel was taken from his labours, and was most worthily succeeded in his deanery by Willibrord Kemp, and he by the indefatigable Nicholas Broedersen. The latter employed the services of Father Norbert, who displayed great activity and zeal in promoting the union. His proposal to Rome was that the Pope should cease to insist on the acceptance of the *Unigenitus* by the Church of Holland, simply and solely for the reason, or rather on the pretext, that it was contrary to the law of the land. The clergy of Utrecht, however, learnt that it was intended to represent them as accepting in their hearts the constitution, and as merely declining to manifest an external submission to it, from the fear of civil consequences. They, therefore, took care to explain themselves clearly on this head, and the negotiation thus came to an end. A third was set on foot under the auspices of the Marquis Nicolini, celebrated alike for his learning and his piety. It was broken off by the death of Benedict XIV. Cardinal Tamburini, one of the candidates for the vacant chair of S. Peter, pledged himself, in case of election, to bring about the reunion of Utrecht. But on the accession of Clement XIII. even Nicolini confessed that for the present he could see no hopes of success.

Conse-
cra-
tion of a
third Bi-
shop for
Deventer.

11. The question of a third Bishop had long occupied the attention of Meindaerts. In the diocese of Leeuwarden there existed one congregation and one pastor attached to the National party. It seemed, therefore, desirable to choose that see for the new Bishop.

Others, however, were rather for the appointment of a coadjutor; and the discussion of the two schemes occasioned considerable delay. De Caylus employed the last months of his life in endeavouring to balance their advantages; and it was not till after his death, on the strength of a "Consultation" from Paris, and the advice of Verthamon, Bishop of Luçon, that it was resolved to adopt the diocesan scheme. The Archbishop and Canons, therefore, assembled in the month of September, 1757, and were on the point of proceeding to the election, when a representation was made from Leeuwarden that the States of that Province would take any such nomination ill. It was then resolved to adopt the title of Deventer, a title merely, for not a single soul in the diocese belonged to the National communion. From want of diocesan superintendence, the congregation at Leeuwarden has long since become extinct. Bartholomew John Byevelt, one of the Canons, was by Meindaerts chosen Bishop of Deventer, and consecrated on the Conversion of S. Paul, 1758. It was believed that Benedict XIV. was inclined to answer the news of this election in a favourable manner, but the event disappointed any such expectation. The Bull was conceived in the usual terms of condemnation. The letter in which Archbishop Meindaerts replied, is considered the masterpiece of all those issued under similar circumstances. It was translated into French, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and three editions were disposed of in France in the space of a month. Probably in consequence of this letter, no brief was issued against the consecration of Bishop Byevelt.

CHAPTER XIV.

SECOND COUNCIL OF UTRECHT. DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP MEINDAERTS.

A.D. 1763—1767.

C H A P.
XIV.

1. IN the August of 1763, a young and obscure English traveller, afterwards destined to obtain a world-wide reputation, arrived in Utrecht. Would that Boswell had left us one of his own graphic descriptions of the remarkable event by which the following month was to be characterized!

Prepara-
tion for a
Provincial
Council.

It had long been in contemplation to hold a Provincial Council for the Church of Holland. The first Synod of Utrecht had been held, as we have seen, by Frederick Schenk, in the August of 1565. Van Neercassel had convened one in the place of his exile; but since that time, no such meetings had been thought possible. An event now occurred which seemed to afford a favourable opportunity of convoking such an assembly.

Writings of
Le Clerc.

2. One Peter Le Clerc, a sub-deacon of the Church of Rouen, had printed at Amsterdam, in 1758, an Act of Protest to the whole Church, but especially to that of Holland, against various tenets of Rome; and, in attacking Ultramontane views, had also asserted doctrines utterly opposed to Catholic tradition, asserting the equality of bishops and priests, and denying the divine right of the former, and other matters of equal moment. It was thought that now was the time for the Church of Utrecht to prove her attachment to

Western unity ; and that, while Le Clerc's errors were condemned, a censure might be passed on the corrupted morals of the Jesuits, especially of their authors, Harduin and Berruyer. The Archbishop accordingly addressed a convocatory letter to his clergy, dated August 20, 1763, and fixing the opening of the Council for the 13th of the following September^a.

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3. The Pastoral is short and simple ; it quotes Van Neercassel's encyclic on a similar occasion ; refers to the various calumnies which had been so diligently propagated against the Church of Holland ; alludes to the different errors which had been sown within her territory ; and invites his clergy to reject these synodically, while also evincing their respect and veneration for the See of S. Peter, the centre of unity. He urges them for these causes to undertake the journey, and concludes by praying that the members of the Synod may have Him as the Companion of their travel, Whom they desire to possess as the Head, Light, and Unity of their gathering.

The Archbishop con-
vokes the
Council.

4. On the appointed day the Council assembled in the parish church of S. Gertrude at Utrecht, and the Archbishop celebrated a mass of the HOLY GHOST, and recited the prayers appointed in the Pontifical. The assembly then adjourned into a little chapel adjacent to that church, where the names of the deputies were called over, and their powers verified. They were twenty in number : the three Prelates, the Dean and Canons of the Metropolitan Chapter, and deputies from the archpresbyteries of Schieland, Utrecht, Rhijnland, and Delfland, and the clergy of Haarlem.

Opening of
the Coun-
cil.

^a I quote from the *Acta et Decreta secundæ Synodi Ultrajectensis. Ultrajecti, 1764*. It was edited by De Bellegarde, whose introduction to it we shall again have occasion to no-

tice. It was published in two forms, 12mo. and 4to. I have both editions by my side, but quote from the former.

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Van Zeller, one of the Canons, was appointed procurator of the Synod. Van Maeren, pastor of S. James at Utrecht, and Mill, of S. Joseph at Amsterdam, were named secretaries. The Archbishop addressed the assembly. After expressing his thankfulness that it had at length been possible to meet, he gave a brief sketch of the fortunes of the Church of Holland, from the time of Sasbold Vosmeer and the irruption of the Jesuits :—

The Arch-
bishop's
address.

“Let us,” he continued, “be strong and courageous. If we have heretofore given way to undue timidity, let us correct that error; if we have neglected duties which our very office demanded from us, let us repair the fault. And that there is no more efficacious method of obtaining this end than the convocation of bishops and priests, may be known even to the least versed in ecclesiastical history, if he will look at the instances of all ages, and the injunctions of the sacred Canons. We have met, then,” he proceeds, “not to deplore the impoverished condition of our Church, nor to devise means for its better endowment. The loss of our goods,—what is it but our glory and our crown? No; we have assembled, beloved brethren, that, since we have been eye-witnesses of the evils which, having for their source a foreigner accidentally resident among us, have afflicted the Church of Holland, and of those which, arising from the impious men of whom we have already made mention, have lacerated not only this, but the universal Church,—we should come to its assistance as members of one and the same body. For they, fabricators of errors, have in their own workshop forged and dispersed so many, that nearly the whole Church is contaminated by them; so that we might believe it on the eve of destruction, had we not certain faith in God’s promise that it should remain for ever. They have left nothing untouched, they have left nothing unattempted, to overthrow the genuine sense of Holy Scripture, to impugn the sacred mysteries of the Christian religion, and to destroy all ecclesiastical discipline, and every rule of morals, by sophism and equivocation.

Let us be ashamed to have come forward the last in this contest. If, while others cry out, we hold our peace, we are worthy of being reckoned among those who are called in Holy Writ, Blind watchmen, dumb dogs that cannot bark.”

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5. The Procurator then, in set terms, demanded whether it was the will of those present that, to the praise and glory of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, for the defence of the faith, for the increase of the good discipline of the Christian religion, for the amelioration of morals, correction of excesses, and composure of controversies, and other things permitted by the sacred Canons, the Holy Provincial Council of Utrecht should then be commenced? The Archbishop having formally assented, the Procurator demanded a rule of life for the members of the Synod during its continuance. And this also having been promulgated, Van Zeller made the following requisition, the spirit of which seems truly admirable:—

Requisi-
tions of the
Procura-
tor.

“Whereas there are many canons, pastors, and, it may be, other ecclesiastics in this metropolitical province of Utrecht, who should *de jure* have been summoned to, and who should have assisted at, this Synod of the Roman Catholic clergy of Holland, if they acknowledged the authority of their own bishops,—we demand that by some decree of the Council their rights may be preserved whole and inviolate, if hereafter—which we greatly desire—they shall please to assemble together with us.”

The rights
of the se-
parated
clergy pre-
served
intact.

This also having been done, Van Zeller next required a decree for the convocation of triennial councils according to the injunction of that of Trent; and the canon—never hitherto from that time acted upon—was accordingly passed.

6. The third requisition was more important, and gave rise to a decree of great length and moment. Commencing by the quotation, that “without faith it is

Third
Decree.

C H A P. impossible to please God," it recites the Nicene Creed
XIV. as that in use through the "One Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church;" it anathematizes all errors and heresies anathematized by the Council of Trent; and it then accepts and adopts Bossuet's *Exposition de la Foi* as the expression of the faith of the Council. This it does, "that those who are not of the Catholic communion may learn, by the experience of nearly a century, that this illustrious Bishop did not mitigate the dogmas of the Catholic Church, nor seek for compromises for the sake of procuring converts; but sincerely and fully handed down those heads of doctrine which have been based on the highest authority, and which all Roman Catholics are bound both to believe and to observe; and may allow, both on natural principles of equity, and from the authority of their own doctors, that 'it is unjust to make an entire society answerable for the sentiments of private individuals,' and therefore to attribute to the Roman Catholic Church doctrines held only by particular members of that Church, though their number may be considerable."

Adoption
of Bos-
suet's *Ex-
position de
la Foi*,

The *Exposition de la Doctrine Catholique* is known to every one. The Protestant doctor alluded to in the above decree was Daillé, in his "Apology," who fairly and frankly allows the fact here contended for.

and the
Letter of
the Chap-
ter, 1744.

7. The decree next adopts the letter of the Chapter of Utrecht to Benedict XIV., which has been noticed in its place, and which embraces the five Articles of the Bishop of Comminges, on the subject of Grace, of 1663, the forty-two Louvain Articles of 1677, and the twelve which, sent by Cardinal de Noailles to Rome, were by Benedict XIII. not only not censured, but had nearly obtained his public and positive approbation. The conclusion of the adopted letter may be taken

as exactly and fully expressing the sentiments of the Council:—

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“But as we are most solicitous not only not to adhere to any opinion contrary to a definition or a profession of faith of the Catholic Church, but also among these systems of doctrine, in controversy among Catholics, to follow those which appear in closest conformity with perpetual tradition; so we are not less anxious to preserve the unity of the SPIRIT in the bond of peace. Hence, although in the Articles which we adopt there are not a few which are impugned by many theologians, not a few which we consider of no light moment for the integrity of Catholic doctrine, and of great advantage in the salvation of souls; GOD forbid that we should hold those to be aliens from the communion of the Church who hold the contrary opinion, until the Church herself shall have settled the points at issue by her supreme authority. GOD forbid—we say it still more earnestly—that we should condemn such as, in some of the aforesaid Articles, differ from us in words rather than in meaning. And, to sum up all in brief,—every doctrine which the Roman Catholic Church holds we hold; every doctrine which she condemns we condemn; every doctrine which she tolerates we tolerate.”

8. On the requisition of the Procurator, five congregations were appointed for the denunciation of the errors both of Le Clerc and of the Jesuit corrupters of morality. They were thus arranged:—

Formation
of Congre-
gations.

The first, under the presidency of Meganck, Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter, undertook the censure of Le Clerc.

The second, under that of the Bishop of Deventer, occupied itself with Harduin and Berruyer.

The third, of which De Haan, pastor at Rotterdam, was president, was charged with the examination of the errors of Pichon and other Jesuits, on the dispositions requisite to a due reception of the sacraments.

The fourth, under the care of Brons, Rector of the

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Seminary at Amersfoort, undertook the corrupted morals of the modern casuists generally.

The fifth, of which Gyselinck, pastor at Hilversum, was chairman, had special reference to false teaching on the subject of obedience to the civil power.

The reports of these various congregations were received and adopted by the Council, and form the larger part of its acts^b. It will now be necessary to touch on their most salient points.

First Con-
gregation's
first report,
on the Five
Articles.

9. The report of the first congregation was arranged under seven heads. The first treats of the Five Articles of Jansenius. Le Clerc had asserted these to contain the Catholic faith on the question of grace, and had affirmed that "the Bishops of Rome had reached such a pitch of iniquity and audacity as to condemn the true doctrine formally." The decrees of the Synod on this point are as follow:—

"The holy Synod declares that the doctrine of grace efficacious *per se* and *ab intrinseco*, and of gratuitous predestination to glory without any prevision of merits, handed down by the holy doctors Augustine and Thomas, is consonant with Holy Scripture, the decrees of pontiffs and councils, and the sayings of the fathers."

This is merely an extract from the Bull *Demissas Preces* of Benedict XIII. (Nov. 6, 1724), who uses the very same expressions:—

"The holy Synod detests the false criminations of those who assert that this wholesome and orthodox doctrine has been formally condemned by the Roman pontiffs."

Then follows a condemnation of the denounced passages, two in number; and the same course is followed in all the reports.

10. I could wish that the Church of Utrecht had not thought it necessary to interfere in the question

^b They take up 464 pages out of 617.

of the schism between East and West. Le Clerc had given, on the whole, a not unfair account of the disputes both under Photius and under Michael Cerularius; the congregation again goes through the subject, and treats the unfortunate Greeks at least as unjustly as they themselves had been treated by Rome. One sentence in this document must be confessed to cut away the whole ground from the Church of Utrecht herself:—

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Second report, on "the schism of the Greeks."

"It is in vain to assert that the Roman Pontiff, even assisted by a Roman council, had not authority to depose Photius from the episcopal dignity. But this deposition, grounded on most just and weighty considerations, was not separation from communion (!), for it did not prohibit Photius from communion in the article of death."

Surely the Jesuits might well have retorted, If Nicholas I. had power to depose, unheard and untried, the Patriarch of the second see in the world, how can it be denied that Clement XI. might exercise the same right in regard to Peter Codde, the occupant of a see so infinitely less illustrious?

I pass over the rest of this report, and will only observe that eight extracts were selected for censure, and that the decree founded on them embraces five articles. Of these, it is truly wonderful to find the Council sanctioning the second and fifth:—

"That schism is one thing, heresy another; and that therefore the profession of the true and orthodox faith is not, properly speaking, the centre of the external communion which ought to exist between all branches of the Catholic Church, but that this centre exists in the chair of Peter, established by that apostle at Rome, 'whence is the source of sacerdotal unity'."

"That therefore the Greek Christians, who have severed this unity, and continue in that separation, are, whether or

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not they profess the true and orthodox faith, truly and properly schismatics."

It must be clear that if *Utrecht* were substituted for Greece in the last clause, the condemnation pronounced must be equally just. It is natural, therefore, to hope that an excessive desire to propitiate the Roman Pontiff suggested this chapter of the report, and led its framers to overlook not only their own inconsistency in adopting it, but the impossibility of a provincial assembly condemning a Church which could reckon up more millions than itself could count hundreds.

Third re-
port, on
the pri-
macy of
the Roman
Pontiff.

11. The third report goes further in its deference to Rome than the majority of writers in the Church of Utrecht would authorize, certainly further than the four celebrated Gallican Articles of 1682. Meganck, the president, had, some time before, distinguished himself by a work in support of the primacy, and held higher views on the subject than the greater part of his brethren; he was therefore probably brought forward with reference to this question, in order that the decrees of the Council might be as acceptable as possible to Rome. Eight extracts are condemned, and five propositions asserted:—

"That on the apostle Peter was bestowed by CHRIST the LORD the primacy over the other apostles, *to the end that the Church and clergy of Christ might be shewn to be one*^d.

"That S. Peter, in whom the primacy of the apostles is pre-eminent with so excellent a grace, on account of this primacy of his apostolate, represented the Church, an individual typifying a generality^e.

"That the Bishop of Rome, as successor of S. Peter, possesses *jure divino* the same right over other bishops."

^d A quotation from S. Cyprian, *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*.

^e A quotation from S. Cyprian

again, and also from S. August., lib. ii., *de Baptismo*.

In this statement, it may be observed, the Council goes beyond the teaching of many Gallican theologians, and of divines who distinguished themselves at Constance and Basle; that, though the successor of S. Peter has *jure divino* the primacy of the Church, it is not *jure divino*, but simply *jure ecclesiastico*, that the Bishop of Rome is S. Peter's successor.

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"That this primacy of the Bishop of Rome, as successor of S. Peter, is not merely a primacy of honour, but also of ecclesiastical power and authority.

"That the Roman Pontiff, as successor of S. Peter, is *jure divino* the visible and 'ministerial head'" (they borrow the word from the Council of Basle) "of the Church founded by CHRIST, Who is its invisible and quickening Head, and therefore is the first vicar on earth of the same CHRIST, the care of the whole Church being committed to him^f."

12. Le Clerc had asserted that the Church could not properly be said to be infallible, except when assembled in œcumenical council; and that, if every single doctor and bishop in its communion were to teach, while not thus assembled in council, any particular doctrine, it by no means ensues that such doctrine is infallibly true. The Council condemned two propositions, of which one is worth quoting, containing as it does the seeds of that great truth, from the development of which only can we hope for the future reconciliation of Christendom:—

Fourth
report, on
the infalli-
bility of
the dis-
persed
Church.
Authority
of the
Church
when not
assembled
in Council.

"Je dis plus. Quand même un sentiment serait suivi généralement dans toute l'Eglise dispersée, sans aucune réclamation pendant beaucoup de siècles, il ne s'ensuivrait pas que ce sentiment fût une décision de l'Eglise Universelle; parce que l'Eglise dispersée ne fait pas de décisions dogmatiques, mais elle fait exécuter celles qu'elle a faites étant assemblée. Car elle n'en fait que quand elle est assemblée dans un concile général."

^f S. Gregor., Epist. v. 20.

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It seems scarcely consistent with its own principles that the opposite dogma should have been asserted by the Council :—

“That the Church is not less infallible in all things which the body of its pastors, though dispersed, sets forth as to be believed concerning faith and morals, than in those which are thus set forth by them when in a general council assembled.”

Fifth,
sixth, and
seventh re-
ports.
Creed of
Pius IV.
Superiority
of bishops
over pres-
byters.
Indul-
gences.

13. The fifth relation denounced four propositions of Le Clerc, in which he rejected the Creed of Pope Pius IV. The Council renewed its adhesion to that symbol, and condemned them.

The sixth condemned four propositions on the parity of bishops and priests, which Le Clerc had asserted in the strongest terms^g. The seventh related to his attack on excommunications and indulgences. The Synod blames his “immoderate and bitter zeal in denouncing the indulgences granted at Rome, and the excommunications extorted there;” and contents itself by reaffirming the very moderate and well-weighed decrees of Trent on the subject, themselves the strongest bulwark against modern Ultramontaniam. Thus ended the labours of the first congregation.

Berruyer
and Har-
douin.

14. To the second, under the presidency of the Bishop of Deventer, had been committed the task of denouncing the gravest errors of De Berruyer and Hardouin.

Berruyer, a native of Rouen, and a Jesuit, had published in 1728 the first part of his “History of the People of God^h ;” a second edition appeared in 1733, and in the year following the work was censured at Rome. Among the French bishops who condemned it, Colbert of Montpellier especially distinguished him-

^g e.g. J’ai dit en plusieurs endroits que les évêques étaient d’institution divine : mais la vérité exige

de moi que je me corrige sur ce point.

^h Guettée, tom. xii. p. 40.

self. The Jesuits, however, who very little concerned themselves about Roman censures when directed against their society, openly supported the book. The second part, which appeared in 1753, was still more intolerable, was condemned by Benedict XIV., and denounced by some of the Jesuits themselves. Notwithstanding which, an edition appeared at Amsterdam, a translation was made in Italian; and in 1758 the third part appeared, still worse than the two former, and openly renewing Nestorianism by admitting a double personality in JESUS CHRIST. Fitz-James, Bishop of Soissons, condemned the whole in a Pastoral Instruction, extending to the prodigious length of *seven volumes*; the Sorbonne censured the two former parts, their condemnation of the third being interrupted by the fall of the Jesuits. Besides its open heresies, this unhappy book related the history of Holy Scripture with a flippancy and familiarity that were intolerable; travestied the simple accounts of the inspired writers into the language of the theatre; defended the grossest crimes—such as self-murder; and was often guilty of the most abominable indecency.

Hardouin, the master of Berruyer, is now principally known by his collection of councils, and by his eccentric belief that the classical authors were composed in the monasteries of the middle ages. The Council, quoting an epitaph, which is ascribed to Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, justly describes him as “asserting entire paradoxes, the destroyer of venerable antiquity, learnedly delirious, a sceptic, in credulity a child, in audacity a youth, in dotage an old man.”

15. The prefatory address is admirably well reasoned; and the errors of the Jesuits, being too numerous and ingrained to be dealt with in detached

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*The Histoire du
Peuple de Dieu.*

Second
Congregation.
Eighth
Report.
Condemnation of Berruyer and Hardouin.

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passages, it sums them up in ten heads ; the principal passages, more than 150 in number, being referred to, but not quoted. It appears, however, that the most monstrous of these were read by the Bishop of Deventer to the Council, and excited the greatest horror. The Congregation shews that the writers in question absolutely deny the necessity of the Christian religion ; affirm that prophecies and miracles are no proof of its Divine origin ; deny the Church to be One, Catholic, or Apostolic ; reject both Scripture and tradition as the rule of faith ; are guilty of the most fearful blasphemies on the doctrine of the TRINITYⁱ ; deny that of original sin ; utterly subvert the whole scheme of the Incarnation, of the Atonement, and of Free Grace ; and corrupt not only religion, but morals :—

“At such a flood of blasphemies,” concludes the Bishop of Deventer, “who in this sacred Synod has not shuddered again and again? Which of the Fathers has not desired to stop his ears? ‘Evil communications corrupt good manners,’ saith the apostle. It has therefore seemed desirable to the Congregation, that—

“(1.) The holy Synod should oppose to this horrid scandal a brief summary of the certain and holy doctrine of the Catholic Church, by which the wicked attempts of erring men are daily and invincibly crushed by her.

“(2.) That the Synod should recommend the principal works by which, especially in France, truth hath shone forth triumphant: for example, the well known, and to us most familiar, work of the Bishop of Soissons, the unshaken bulwark, in our times, of the Church, and a precious monument to posterity. Also the excellent and recently published Pastoral of the Archbishop of Lyons . . . and the

Adoption
of the
Pastoral
of Fitz-
James of
Soissons.

ⁱ E. g. The Eternal Generation is expressly denied : it is asserted that the FATHER cannot speak to the WORD ; that the WORD is one thing, the SON of GOD another ; that the WORD is nothing else than the FATHER’s eternal decree of creating a

Man who should become His SON ; that the HOLY GHOST is only an influence, or a virtue and efficaciousness ; and when spoken of as a Person, is so called by prosopopœia alone, &c.

learned first part, so acceptable to Catholic theologians, of the censure of the Faculty of Paris. C H A P.
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“(3.) And lastly, that a canon should be drawn up, briefly, but solemnly and absolutely, condemning the work of Beruyer, so justly condemned by Cardinal Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, in his Pastoral of July 3, as impious and wicked; and also that of Hardouin, in books by which the chief mysteries of the faith would be utterly destroyed, and the whole Christian religion overthrown from its base.”

16. The eighth decree, drawn up in accordance with the requisition of the Congregation, and comprised in twelve heads, is an admirable example of theological definitions. The first seven articles are on the doctrine of the Blessed TRINITY, the Incarnation, and Original Sin; the remainder are as follows:— Eighth decree. The Catholic faith opposed to these errors.

“(8.) JESUS CHRIST, by His own unmerited sufferings and death, truly and superabundantly made satisfaction as well for original sin as for all the other transgressions of the sons of Adam. Which sufferings and death, as being those of the incarnate God, are of infinite value and price; and the same incarnate God was Redeemer, not only of those men who were born after His incarnation, but of those also who had preceded His advent; in one word, HE Poured forth His blood for all men.” [Notice how emphatically they deny the heresy so constantly attributed to the Jansenists, that the SON of GOD died only for some men.] Universal Redemption.

“(9.) No man was ever justified, or could be justified, by the natural law, nor by the Mosaic Law, but only by faith in JESUS CHRIST, the only Mediator between God and man; by whose blood and merits all righteous men, whether of the Old or of the New Testament, received remission of sins, the true adoption of sons, and the grace requisite to fulfil the divine commandments. Justification by CHRIST alone.

“(10.) This grace, absolutely necessary, either to begin that which is good, or to advance in it, and to persevere to the end in righteousness, is altogether free, and cannot be obtained by any human merits; and this grace lies not alone

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in exhortations, examples, and incitements, external or internal, but *in inspiratione dilectionis quia cognita sancto amore faciamus*. [The quotation is from S. Augustine^k.] *For it is God that, without any detriment to human will, worketh in us both to will and to do according to His good pleasure.* In like manner, the predestination of the Saints to glory, the glorious pattern of which is the predestination itself of CHRIST our Head, is entirely gratuitous, and before prevision of merits; a most certain doctrine, which the holy Fathers affirm to be of the Catholic faith^l.

“(11.) There is an eternal and immutable law, which is *only the Divine will commanding that natural order should be observed, forbidding that it should be violated*^m, and which GOD has inscribed in indelible characters on the minds of men. Whatever is wilfully done against this invariable rule of morals, whether by ignorance, whether by inadvertence and forgetfulness, or whether by an erroneous conscience, lies under sin. Finally, concupiscence, which springs from sin, and induces to sin, (although it is not itself sin, unless it be consented to,) and all its motions, are in themselves evil and irregular, and the whole Christian life consists in its eradication, and the endeavour with our whole strength to fulfil the law of charity, by which we are bound to love GOD with our whole mind, with our whole heart, with our whole power, and to refer all our actions to Him as to their ultimate end.

“(12.) The rule of faith is the revealed Word of GOD, written in Holy Scripture, or handed down to us by continual succession of tradition; of which Word of GOD the infallible interpreter and uncorrupted guardian is the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

Third Con-
gregation.
Ninth Re-
port.
Errors of
Pichon, in
the *Esprit*
de J. C. et
de l'Eglise
sur la fré-
quente
Commu-
nion.

17. On the requisition of the Procurator of the Synod, the Third Congregation, under the presidency of Francis de Haan, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul at Rotterdam, reported on two books which had been committed to its investigation. The first of these was the notorious work of Pichon, *L'Esprit de Jésus*

^k Lib. iv. cont. 2. Epist. Pelag., § 11.

de Dono Perseverantiæ, § 48.

^m S. August. Civ. Dei, xix. 15.

^l They here refer to S. August.

Christ sur la fréquente Communion, on which a few words may not be out of place. C H A P.
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The efforts which the Jesuits had made to obtain from Rome the condemnation of Arnauld's work on Holy Communion had proved unsuccessful. In 1745 one of their fathers, by name Pichon, published a volume under the above title, intended as a substitute for, and antidote to, the "Jansenism" of Arnauld. Its publication in opposition to Arnauld. Its main scope was this: that to communicate, in and by itself, and as it were *ex opere operato*, was a cure for sin; that a man might, and should, communicate daily, though he had no love to God, and though he came with the deliberate intention of cleaving to venial sin; that no more excellent penance for the most detestable crimes could be enjoined, than immediate and frequent communion; and *this* though the penitent had no real contrition, and professed to have none, for his past wickedness. It followed that confession and absolution degenerated into a mere farce; and that *satisfaction*, an integral and essential part of penitence, was eliminated from the easier path of the Jesuit theologian.

18. Some extracts from this detestable book will give a better idea of its contents:— Extracts from it.

"Let us compare it [Holy Communion] with the other methods which we find set forth in the holy Gospel: which would you choose?—Prayer? assiduous fasting? the distribution of your goods to the poor? the most humble exercises of charity in prisons and hospitals? the practice of virginal purity?—Each of these methods alarms self-love, terrifies the senses, throws into despair a will so weak as ours; but frequent Communion is an easier way".

"The only method of salvation which is left to most men—that which alone is proportioned to their weakness and their temperament—is frequent Communion.

ⁿ L'Esprit, &c. ed. 1745, p. 369.

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"*Theophilus*. This sacrament is then like Baptism, which operates on infants, and gives them grace, without any disposition on their part?"

"*The Doctor*. Yes.

"Frequent Communion is the most efficacious and the briefest method of *conversion* and sanctification, and the most powerful bridle against vices and *evil habits*."

Its con-
demnation
by French
Bishops.

Though every page abounded with sentiments like these, Marcilly, the censor, a doctor of the Sorbonne, but a creature of the Jesuits, characterized the work in the highest terms of approbation, and even ventured to say that the Spirit of JESUS CHRIST had been especially communicated to the author; and the *Journal de Trevoux*, the embodiment of Jesuit principles, pronounced a magnificent eulogium on its merits. The Gallican review, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, was the first to point out the tendency of the book; but the French bishops, generally, took the alarm. The Archbishops of Sens and Aix, Languet and De Brancas, expressed themselves strongly against it; the Bishop of S. Pons, noted for his zeal against Jansenism, was even violent in his denunciations of its false teaching: more than twenty bishops followed in the same course. The prelate whose conduct was most annoying to the Jesuits was De Rastignac, Archbishop of Tours, who had up to that period been subservient to their views, and who, in his *Instruction Pastorale sur la Justice Chrétienne*^p, denounced and demolished the system of

^p L'Esprit, p. 389. Guettée gives a very interesting account of this book, and of its condemnation: tom. xii. 45.

^p Hence he has a place in the *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. 297:—"Ce n'est pas sans un étonnement extrême qu'en a vu M. de Rastignac, après avoir signalé son zèle pour la Constitution, après avoir présidé à

trois Assemblées du Clergé, publier dans sa vieillesse une Instruction Pastorale, qui renferme d'un tout à l'autre le Baianisme, le Jansenisme, et le Quesnellisme." The author ingeniously forgets the fact that this work, translated into Italian, received the approbation of Benedict XIV.

Pichon. The Jesuits themselves, in a half-way, dis- CHAP.
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avowed the book, but it continued to be circulated, and a fresh edition was issued.

19. The other work, committed to the same Con- The On-
derwys
voor de
Eerste
Communie.
gregation, was a Catechism for First Communion^a, written in Dutch, and published for the first time at Louvain in 1658, and for the last at Amsterdam in 1695. It had been condemned, indeed, at Rome (Jan. 17, 1703), but was still employed as a text-book by the Jesuits in Holland, and was conceived in the same spirit which characterizes every page of Pichon, and the propositions extracted from it were of the same nature as those which I have already selected from that. The Congregation further recommended that the Synod should adopt the *Amor Pœnitens* of Van Neercassel, the *Instructions* of S. Charles Borromeo, and the *Pastoral* of De Rastignac, as its own.

20. The eleventh decree, which is well worth The
ninth
decree.
quoting, is as follows:—

“The holy Synod decrees the following rules as true, certain, and consonant with the intentions and doctrine of the Church:—

“1. That adults, before they are admitted to the reception of the sacraments, should not only be acquainted with the principal mysteries of the Christian religion, as they are contained in the Apostles’ Creed, but should also *abstain from worldly lusts*, and especially from those sins which ‘destroy the soul at one stroke’, and exclude from the kingdom of God.

“2. The virtue of penitence was necessary at all times to all men, for the acquirement of grace and righteousness: the commencement of which is godly sorrow, which worketh repentance not to be repented of.

“3. It is contrary to the maxims of the holy Fathers, and

^a *Onderwys voor de Eerste Communie: gemaekte door een Priester van de Societeit Jesu.*

^r S. August. Serm. 18.

^s By mistake, numbered XI.

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Rules for
the worthy
reception
of the
Holy Com-
munion,

to the rules of Christian piety, to think that those sinners may be absolved in whom the love of self yet predominates, and who are satisfied with not hating God, or those who are moved to a certain hatred of sin only through the fear of temporal punishment, or even through the fear of hell alone, without any love of righteousness.

“4. For the worthy reception of the sacraments of baptism and penance there is required in adults, beside the acts of faith and hope, and the fear by which they are salutarily influenced, at least the beginning of that love of God above all things, by which God is loved as the Fountain of all righteousness.

“5. These previous dispositions are followed by justification on the reception, or even the desire, of the Sacrament; which justification consists not only in the remission of sins, but in the sanctification and renewal of ‘the inner man, which is created after God in righteousness and true holiness.’

“6. Although righteousness may be lost, it is not therefore *desultory*, so as to be lost and regained over and over again, but constant and stable. ‘How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein?’ We are buried with CHRIST by baptism into the likeness of His death and resurrection; that, as ‘CHRIST being raised from the dead dieth no more, so we also should walk in newness of life.’

“7. Again, this holiness, real, and not fictitious, acquired already, not to be acquired hereafter, is required as a necessary preparation and disposition for the worthy reception of the holy Eucharist, for HOLY THINGS are to be for HOLY PERSONS only: ‘and the more the sanctity and divinity of this Sacrament are understood by a Christian man, the more diligent must be his care, that he draw not near to receive without great reverence and holiness^t.’

“8. Let a man therefore be in a state of righteousness before receiving the holy Eucharist at all; let him be holier, if he would communicate frequently; let him be most holy, if he would approach the holy Table daily. This is the rule taught by the Fathers of the first ages, which we have also received as handed down by the holy doctors of later times.

^t Concil. Trident., Sess. xiii. c. 7.

"9. As to confessors. It is not enough for a confessor to recognise in the penitent a cessation from external acts of sin: he must also require that there be in him a true, efficacious, and constant 'resolution of not sinning again',^u made manifest, not only by doubtful signs, as tears and promises, or a declaration of sins, though this may be perfectly and sincerely made; but 'by the beginning of a new life',^v and by the pre-performance of certain penal works, sometimes necessary to heal the diseases of the soul^x.

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and of
Absolution.

"10. The confessor, before he absolves a penitent, must have a kind of moral certitude that the constant 'resolution of sinning no more, and the commencement of a new life,' proceeds from the love of righteousness, predominating in the heart of the penitent.

"11. Since experience itself teaches that, for the most part, sinners, especially those who are oppressed with the heavy weight of sinful habits, do not all at once, but by degrees, and not without exceeding difficulty, pass from the predominance of the love of the creature to the predominance of the love of God, and a change of heart and life,—the confessor cannot easily have that moral certainty, unless, after a sufficient space of time, he is satisfied of the sincerity of the penitent's love by fruits worthy of repentance.

"These rules are of such weight and value, that they cannot be sufficiently impressed on the mind."

The decree concludes with a recommendation of the books which the Congregation had proposed for adoption.

It would not be easy, I think, to point to any canons which unite so much depth of piety with such dogmatical exactness, and so neat an expression of both.

21. The fourth Congregation was under the presidency of Wynandus Johannes Brons, pastor at Amersfoort, and president of the Seminary, and had for its subject the errors of the Casuists, especially on

Fourth
Congregation.
Tenth Report. The
errors of
the Casuists.

^u Concil. Trident., Sess. xiv. c. 4.

^v Id. *ibid*.

^x Card. Aguirre in Canon. 11 et 12. Concil. Toletan. 3, Excurs. 2.

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The errors
and sub-
terfuges of
Proba-
bilism.

the subject of probability, more particularly in the works of Busembaum, La Croix, Mazotta, and Neumayer—the last of whom had indeed been condemned at Rome by a decree of May 29, 1760. In their report they allude to the boast of the Jesuits, that no member of that Society can publish a work which is not consentient to the teaching of the Society itself; they thence argue that the doctrine contained in the works of one of these writers is not the doctrine of an individual, but of the body: they quote the words of Cardinal de Noailles,—“The question now-a-days is not what is true or false, what eternal truth forbids or commands, but only what is probable or not probable; that is, the law of God is set aside, and the only enquiry is what men may have babbled concerning the divine commandments; whence the doctrine of morals is by degrees degenerating into the doctrine of men, and the commandments of Pharisees;” and that immortal passage from the *Provincials*, which ends, “Let the Jesuits, therefore, who wickedly accuse others of denying the Incarnation, beware lest they themselves against their wish and desire” (“so,” says the writer, “the author speaks, perhaps, with over-kindness”) “be called at some future time the leaders of the Deists.” And then follows this noble passage—a passage worthy of the most eloquent of the Fathers of the Church:—

“As God is the Creator of men, so also is He their Master, and Lawgiver, and Judge; from Whose will alone emanate laws of whatever kind; ‘by Whom kings reign, and princes decree justice.’ Therefore every rational creature is so bound by the divine and eternal law, that none can ever escape its power. Why should we not apply to ourselves that which Augustine teaches even of the angels?—‘By them,’ he writes, ‘immutable truth is consulted as the eternal law, . . . for they are not the Truth itself, but partakers of the Creator’s Truth.

To it they seek as to the fountain of life, that they may obtain from it that which they have not in themselves^y.’ Since, therefore, by the angels themselves the eternal Truth must be consulted as a law, how much more by man, especially fallen man, who, having nothing in himself ‘except falsehood and sin^z,’ cannot discover the truth in himself; and if he trusts to his own light to go before him, he will continually wander from the way! For in vain will they endeavour to ‘put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts,’ who will not ‘put on the new man, which is renewed in God after the image of Him That created Him.’ This truth, this eternal law, which is nothing else than God Himself, alone ordains that which is right, that which is good. Sin consists in this: in saying, or doing, or seeking anything that is at variance with this. For ‘Sin,’ says Augustine, ‘is a deed, or speech, or wish against the eternal law.’ Of the same law Tertullian thus speaks: ‘At no time, and in no place, is that excused which God condemns:’ whence that theological axiom,—‘That which is opposed to the natural law is prohibited because it is evil, and not evil because it is prohibited.’ ”

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The immu-
tability of
the Eternal
Law.

How sublime, how refreshing, is this bold vindication of the eternal law against the miserable sophistries, the wretched expediency, the probabilistic jargon of a Busenbaum, a La Croix, a Bauny, a Lessius, a Vasquez, a Victoria, an Escobar, and—alas that we should have to say it—a Liguori! One breathes the free air after a close, medicated room; one sees the pure stars in the heavens after the tinsel ornaments of a theatrical sky.

22. Of twenty-six propositions extracted for condemnation, the following are some of the most remarkable:—

Extracts
con-
demned.

Of ignorance of the Natural Law.—“It is usually taught that man cannot be invincibly ignorant of God, at least not

^y De Civitat. Dei, xvi. 6. 1.

^z They are quoting the Second Council of Orange.

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for long. But, granted that the True and Only God might, through invincible ignorance, be unknown, a heathen would not formally sin against Him by worshipping idols. Hence also I will assert, that if any given man be supposed absolutely and invincibly ignorant of any God, such a man could not sin theologically, but, to make the most of it, only philosophically." [Herman Busembaum, *Theologia Moralis*, with additions by Claude La Croix. Ed. Cologne, 1757. Tom. i. p. 104.]

Of inadvertency as to the gravity of sin.—"That we may recede as far as possible from Calvin, we must say that sin can never be committed without advertency as to its heinousness, never with a good intention." [Antonio Casnedi, *Crisis Theologica*. Lisbon, 1711. Disp. viii. § 2.]

"We cannot grievously offend God when we believe, sincerely and entirely, that what we are doing is not evil." [Hasart, *Larger Catechism*, tom. ii. p. 456.]

"A conscience which has no fear in committing an unlawful act, excuses from sin." [Beon, *Propugnaculum*. Aix, 1686.]

Of Probabilism.—"It is lawful to follow the less probable opinion of another, against one's own more probable opinion, even though it be still retained." [Stoz, *Tribunal Pœnitentiæ*. Bamberg, 1756. Lib. i. par. 5. q. 2. a. 3. n. 112.]

"He does not sin who acts according to a less probable opinion as to the lawfulness of an action, and leaves that which is the safer and more probable. So, most commonly, more than two hundred doctors quoted by La Croix, against a few of the more ancient and rigid Probabilists." [Mazotta, tom. i. tract. i. q. 4. cap. 4.]

The tenth
decree.

23. The decree was as follows:—

"The holy Synod declares,—

"1. The eternal law, naturally implanted in all, can only be matter of ignorance from the blindness and corruptions of the heart: therefore this ignorance can never, in the case of adults who have the use of their reason, be properly, fully, and entirely invincible, nor can it excuse from sin. Wherefore the Psalmist saith, with tears, 'O remember not the sins of my youth, and my ignorances.' 'Which class of

offences, unless they were imputed by a just God, would not need the prayers of a faithful man for forgiveness¹.

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"2. Since ignorance of the natural law can never excuse from sin, much less can simple inadvertency, or non-reflection, excuse the heinousness of sin. Wherefore, whatever is at variance with rational nature and right reason in an adult, who, acting deliberately, should either be ignorant of God, or should not, in the act, think of God, is a formal sin and offence against God, and not merely, as they say, a philosophical sin.

Sin not
excused by
ignorance.

"3. A mistaken and erroneous conscience, although it may have no fear, never excuses from sin, when it opposes the Divine law. For 'there is a way which seemeth right to a man; but the end thereof are the ways of death^b.' Therefore whether thou considerest the good which thou doest to be evil, or the evil which thou doest to be good, it is in both cases sin.

"4. Since no opinion, even though held by eminent men, can be true, right, and safe, if it dissent from the truth, because 'if the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch;' the greatest care is necessary lest an opinion which is false, and opposed to the natural law, but which appears probable, should in practice be considered safe; or that in a choice of opinions, the less safe be preferred to the more safe, the less probable to the more probable, the less probable and safe to the more probable and safe. For it is the law of God, not custom, nor probability, nor the opinion of masters, which is the truth."

24. The government of the United Provinces had so often been irritated by the doctrines of the casuists as to the right of subjects to murder their princes, and the power possessed by Rome of dispensing from the law of civil obedience, that it was thought right to appoint a special congregation on this subject. It was presided over by John Baptist Eugenius Gyselinck, pastor at Hilversum. The nine passages they quote are far less striking than those adduced on the same sub-

Fifth Con-
gregation.
Eleventh
Report.
The sub-
jection due
to princes.

^a S. August., Op. Imperf., lib. i. cap. 105.

^b S. August. Ep. 47. 4.

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XIV. ject in the thirteenth Provincial. The decree strongly inculcates the divine right of kings, and repudiates the idea of any such dispensing power as the Jesuits claimed for the Roman Pontiff.

Twelfth
decree.

25. The twelfth decree sums up and sanctions those which had preceded it in the following terms:—

“The holy Synod, ‘assembled in the name of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, with the power of the LORD JESUS,’ mindful of the apostolic precept, ‘If any one that is a brother be . . . a railer,’ &c.; and again, ‘If any come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not:’—

“Judges them who for the future (which God forbid) shall adulterate the Word of God, and shall *pertinaciously* defend all or any of the errors condemned by the holy Synod, to be unworthy of the participation of the sacraments until, ‘having purged out the old leaven’ of their errors, they can ‘sacrifice the passover and keep the feast, not in the old leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.’”

Canons of
discipline.

26. The Synod next turned its attention to the promulgation of certain canons of discipline, twenty-four in number, under the heads of the various sacraments. Of these, the most interesting are those which follow:—

Baptism.

Of Baptism.—“4. It is greatly to be desired that the faithful should be solidly instructed as to the effects and the obligations which they contract in it; that they may acknowledge in themselves the dignity of the sons of God, and shrink from ‘returning unto their former vileness by a degenerate life^b;’ and that they may often, with the deepest gratitude, render thanks for such benefits received from God. For which cause this holy Synod exhorts all those who have the cure of souls, and commands them, to teach their people most constantly what is the fruit of baptism, and what the obligation of a good life which springs from it. Let them frequently impress on their flocks that saying of Ambrose, ‘Remember the questions that were put to thee: thou hast renounced the devil

^b S. Leo, Sermon de Nativ. Domini.

and his works, the world, and its luxuries and pleasures: C H A P. XIV.
and let the bond thou hast given never escape thy memory^c.”

On Confirmation.—After having explained the nature of the sacrament, the canon adds:— Confirmation.

“What avails it to have been raised when fallen, unless thou art also strengthened when standing? Wherefore there is danger of their damnation, who by their negligence lose the occasion of the presence of a bishop, and receive not the sacrament of Confirmation.”

It must be remembered that from the suspension of Codde, in 1703, till the appointment of vicars-apostolic in consequence of the Concordat, the Catholics of Holland, in the communion of Rome, had no opportunity, except by going out of the country, of being confirmed.

On the Mass.—“2. It appears to us consistent with the intention of the Church, that from the elevation of the Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST, till the *Pater Noster* is sung, the organ, and every kind of singing, should be still; and that every one should, in silence, on his knees, commemorate the passion and death of CHRIST, and render thanks to the REDEEMER for the benefits so largely acquired by His death.” The blessed Eucharist.

This is still the practice of the churches in the communion of Utrecht, and it gives a very singular effect to that part of the Liturgy.

Of Penance.—“1. Since, in these miserable times, many are lovers of the broad way that leadeth to destruction, and follow the principles of the laxer casuists, this holy Synod exhorts in the LORD and commands all pastors and confessors, that, in absolving or refusing absolution to sinners, they pay more regard to the law of the Gospel than to the corrupt opinions of the Casuists,—not a few of which have been condemned by Pope Alexander VII.: not endeavouring to accommodate the straitness of the Gospel to the crooked lusts of men, but heartily endeavouring to direct the distorted

^c The sense is that of S. Ambrose, (De Sacram. 162.) but the words, taken from the quotation in the Synod held by Van Neercassel, are not verbally correct. *Constit. Castor.*, p. 9. Penance.

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wills of sinners to the inflexible equity of the divine law. Let them possess also the 'Instruction to Confessors,' composed by the most holy and most wise prelate, Charles Borromeo, for their use: and we desire that this work should be diligently perused and learnt by all, that they may bind or loose according to the instructions of the holy bishop.

Marriage. *Of Marriage.*—"1. This holy Synod declares that it acknowledges, without any hesitation, the validity (at least *quoad* the contract) of the marriages contracted according to the laws of this country between non-Catholics; also between Catholics and non-Catholics, though the prescribed form of the Council of Trent has not been observed. 2. Since this holy Synod regards marriages contracted between Catholics and non-Catholics (which are displeasing also to the civil power) to be far from lawful, it exhorts all those who have the cure of souls that, as best they may, they induce the Catholic partner, be it man or woman, to perform penance, and ask forgiveness from God for the heinous crime that he or she have committed."

Validity
of mixed
marriages.

They then quote the declaration of Benedict XIV., (Nov. 4, 1741,) in which he allows the validity of marriages contracted between heretics, or between a Catholic and a heretic, according to the law of the country, in the United Provinces. This declaration might well be a subject of just pride to the Church of Utrecht; for, as we have seen, the Roman use had previously been to deny the validity of such marriages; and it was by the exertions and the reputation of Van Neercassel that the present practice was introduced into the Church of Holland, and sixty years after his death sanctioned by the See of Rome.

Conclusion
of the
Council.

27. The canons having been passed, the formal conclusion of the Council followed. The Procurator demanded, "Is it your will that the decrees of the Synod be promulgated?" All answered *Placet*. The Archbishop, as president, said, "Let the decrees of the Synod be read." This having been done, he

enquired, "Is it your will, for the glory of God, and the spread of the Catholic Church, that the decrees of this Synod of the Province of Utrecht, which have been read by us, be approved, and that the Council itself be finished and concluded?" All replied, *Placet*. C H A P.
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28. The signatures follow. That of the Archbishop is in these words: "Ego Petrus Joannes, Arch. Ultrajectensis, Præses, omnibus supra scriptis decretis circa fidem, mores et disciplinam, judicans subscripsi." John of Haarlem and Bartholomew John of Deventer next sign; then Meganck, the Dean, and the canons; and then the deputies of the clergy: in all, exclusive of the prelates, fifteen. Six only of the canons sign as such, the suffragans completing the number; and it is a curious fact, that none of the deputies ever attained, in after years, the episcopate. The form of their signature, *judicans subscripsi*, was attacked, at the time, by the Roman party, and defended, and I think successfully, by the writers of the national communion. Signa-
tures: and

29. At the conclusion of the Synod, a letter was addressed in its name by Archbishop Meindaerts, along with a copy of its acts, to Clement XIII., who then filled the chair of S. Peter. It is well and carefully written, and ingeniously urges on the Pontiff's attention, how, "in the imminence of such grave perils, we have taken the shield of Faith, to defend so many and so weighty truths, and especially the divine institution by which the apostolic primacy has descended to your Holiness, and claims the same grace of pre-eminence for yourself that it did for S. Peter." The acts of the Council were put into the hands of De Bellegarde, in order to preparation for the press. This ecclesiastic, whose family name was Gabriel Dupac, for many years one of the most strenuous and ablest defenders of the Church of Utrecht, was born in the castle of synodal
letter to
the Pope

Publica-
tion of the
Acts by
De Belle-
garde:

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Bellegarde, in the diocese of Narbonne, Oct. 17, 1717. He studied first at Toulouse, and then at Paris, where he formed a connection with Ménédrieux, Boursier, and D'Étemare, then the acknowledged leaders of the Gallican party. When, in consequence of the persecution, D'Étemare was compelled to retire into Holland, our author accompanied him in his exile, and took up his abode along with him at Rhijnwÿck, near Utrecht. Here he applied himself to the composition of many laborious and valuable works, the principal among which were his "Historic Memoirs of the reception of the Bull *Unigenitus* in the Low Countries," his "History of the Church of Utrecht," and his editions of the works of Van Espen, in three folio, and those of Arnauld in forty-six quarto, volumes. In 1761 he was presented to a canonry of the metropolitical church of Lyons, which, according to the then *régime*, conferred on him the title of Count. It is a remarkable proof of the little attention which was paid in France to the excommunications of the Court of Rome, that De Bellegarde, whose connection with the Church of Holland was so well known, should yet have received so important a preferment. He resigned it, however, at the end of a few years, in order to be able to devote himself more exclusively to the interests of the Church of Utrecht. To his hands, then, as I have said, the acts of the Council were committed; and he prefixed to them a short history of the Church of Utrecht, not ill-written in itself, but, as subsequent events proved, unwisely attached to the acts which it was designed to preface.

sketch of
his life.

Excommu-
nication
of Le Clerc.

30. Le Clerc had been summoned to appear before the Council, and had not only refused, but had continued to publish writings of the same kind with those to which I have already alluded. It was to meet his

case that the Synod declared in its twelfth decree that
 “Those who should *pertinaciously* defend any of the
 errors or heresies which it condemned, was to be re-
 garded as unworthy of the participation of the sacra-
 ments.” The Bishop of Haarlem, in whose diocese
 Amsterdam, the residence of Le Clerc, was situated,
 after various ineffectual admonitions, at length excom-
 municated him, March 7th, 1765, and from that period
 we hear no more of the unfortunate sub-deacon. In
 the meantime, the Acts of the Council were received
 with general applause. They were permitted to be
 reprinted in Paris, on a favourable report of their cha-
 racter from the Abbé Foucher, the royal censor. From
 many bishops in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany,
 letters of congratulation and communion were re-
 ceived. Moetzbourg, Elector-Archbishop of Trèves,
 conceived the idea of addressing them, accompanied
 by a circular epistle, to all the German prelates, and
 in this design he was encouraged by his coadjutor, De
 Hontheim, Bishop of Myriophytus *in partibus*, better
 known by his learned work published under the name
 of Febronius. In like manner the last Prince-Bishop
 of Bamberg was preparing to memorialize the Court
 of Rome, when the nuncio at Cologne, having heard
 of his design, procured express orders from the papal
 see to forbid it. It was still more remarkable that
 Archbishop Meindaerts should receive many letters of
 communion from the prelates in Italy. Among these,
 the Bishops of Alifa and Sora especially distinguished
 themselves :—

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Applause
with which
the acts are
received

in Ger-
many

“I confess,” says the latter, under date June 15, 1765,
 “that I had, in former times, somewhat doubted of your
 allegiance to the Apostolic See, since the Roman Pontiff’s
 would neither keep peace with you, nor give it to you when you
 petitioned for it. When, however, I took the Acts into my

C H A P.
XIV.and in
Italy.

hands, and became acquainted with the calamities of your Church, so heavy and of such long continuance, I could not restrain my tears. But when I found the orthodoxy of your faith and doctrine, I was filled with a joy which I cannot express by my pen; finding, too, that you had no share in those troubles which have too long disturbed the Church. I congratulate you on the labours which you have so willingly undergone for the benefit of the Church; and I hope, nay, I am confident, that the Apostolic See will soon come to terms with yourselves, and with the province, the government of which has been committed to you."

The Bishops of Sardinia were also anxious to bring about a reconciliation. Caisolli, Bishop of Aste, reckoned on the co-operation of five or six of his brethren, among whom was the Archbishop of Turin; and he proposed to interest the Sardinian Court in the affair, and to make it the mediator with the Roman Pontiff. The same idea was suggested to the Court of Naples, and was favourably received by it.

Testimo-
nials from
France:

31. From the Church of France the afflicted communion of Holland did not receive that support which she had a right to expect, and which she had been used to find in their common struggles. De Caylus, the last appellant bishop, had been now dead some years; Augustinian sentiments were exceedingly distasteful in high places, and one prelate alone, De Buisson de Beautteville, had courage to write his approbation to the Archbishop. The latter, however, received abundance of testimonies of good-will and congratulation from other ecclesiastics, especially from the dioceses of Paris, Auxerre, Troyes, Chalons-sur-Marne, Rouen, and Mende. The Chapter of Auxerre, with one single exception, mindful of the teaching of De Caylus, declared in favour of the Council; and the superiors of the French Oratorians and Genovefians, with a multitude of the religious of their order, took the same

step. A most striking testimony was obtained from the Faculty of Law at Paris, to whom the Acts had been transmitted. That body unanimously resolved that it should be wanting to its own dignity if it contented itself with a bare approbation. An *avis motivé* was therefore drawn up, and was to be submitted to the next meeting of the Faculty. In the meantime it was hinted to the Dean that any such proceeding would be highly offensive to the Court, and to the Archbishop of Paris, De Beaumont; and that functionary positively declined to affix his signature to the formula when it next came before him. The rest of the Faculty, however, proceeded without him, and transmitted the testimonial. “Everything,” they say, “breathes the love of peace and unity, a sincere desire to overcome prejudice, the greatest moderation towards your calumniators. You there give an account of your faith, which must dissipate every suspicion, and convince the most obstinate.” This was accompanied by a Latin Act, *A Doctrinal Adhesion to the Second Council of Utrecht*. The proceeding gave great offence. Four of the Faculty were summoned before the Secretary of State, and interrogated how they durst, without permission, maintain a correspondence with a foreign country, contrary to the laws and usages of the realm. The doctors humbly represented that they were not acquainted with any such laws and usages. The Syndic was exiled for a time, and the Jesuits procured a most extraordinary *arrêt*, by which his Christian Majesty’s lieges were forbidden, under divers pains and penalties, to enter into any correspondence or undertaking connected with the Acts of the pretended Provincial Council of Utrecht.

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adhesion
of the Fa-
culty of
Law.

32. At Rome, the reception of the Acts hung for some time undecided. “We really must accommo-

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XIV.

Examina-
tion of the
Acts

by a Con-
gregation
of Cardi-
nals,

and con-
demnation.

date that affair of Holland," said Clement XIII.: "I have just been reading the Acts of their Council, and they are very good." The Jesuits, however, were now struggling, with all the agony of desperation, to avert the fatal blow of their dissolution. The Pope had been weak enough to issue the Bull *Apostolicum* in their defence: "a Bull rather extorted than issued," indignantly writes Clement XIV.; to which, though he requested a reply from the Bishops of Europe, he received an answer from only *twenty-three*. The Council of Utrecht was a severe blow to the Company, and its condemnation must, at all hazards, be procured. On Wednesday in Holy Week, 1765, Cardinal Castelli demanded its condemnation from the Consistory. But Cardinal Albani, although sufficiently prejudiced against the Church of Utrecht, happened to have read the works of Broedersen, and the *Récueil des Témoignages*, and pleaded so eloquently the cause of the Council, that nothing further was then concluded. A congregation seemed the more likely way of bringing about a censure. It was composed of the Cardinals Torreggiani, Rezzonico, Negroni, Albani, Febroni, and Castelli. "Of these," says Bottari, librarian of the Vatican, "the greater part had not the slightest acquaintance with theology, and I think did not even know their Catechism." Albani, true to the principles he professed, opposed the whole proceedings. Torreggiani wished himself well out of the affair; but the four other members of the congregation prepared the Bull *Non sine acerbo dolore*, which was accordingly published. It was attributed to the pen of Ricci, general of the Jesuits, of whom more hereafter, and treated those who supported the national Church of Holland as "Men given over to destruction, children of iniquity, impious persons,

headstrong, rebels against the judgment of the Church, and schismatics chased from its bosom ;” the Council is said to be “ null, illegitimate, without jurisdiction, destitute of all authority, and tending to the overthrow of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, unity, and communion.” “ Well,” said Bottari, when he read the Bull, “ you may burn the Acts of the Council on the steps of S. Peter, if you like ; but you will only give a new testimony to the affection and reverence which that Council has evinced towards the See of Rome.”

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33. It was impossible that the Church of Utrecht should allow such a document to remain unnoticed. The same Council, or nearly the same, reassembled in the metropolitical city in the October of 1766, and agreed on a letter to the Pope, which is said to have had more effect in procuring support to the cause of the national Church, than any other of its numerous publications. I have in vain enquired—and the fact seems now beyond the power of being ascertained—who is regarded as the author of this piece ; but the style certainly resembles that of Meganck, and his position as Dean makes it not improbable that he might have been entrusted with its composition. To this reply, Königseg, Archbishop of Cologne, published an answer contained in nine printed lines ; which to the other epithets applied by the Bull to the clergy of Utrecht, added that of “ vipers,” an addition which does not seem much to strengthen the force of the original argument. The University of Cologne, following the steps of the Elector, issued a document, in which they declared that it was better to communicate with Lutherans or Calvinists than with the members of the Church of Utrecht. The Prince-Bishop of Liège also put forth a Pastoral on the same subject. In addition to the epithets of Ricci and Cologne, he stig-

Reply of
the Church
of Utrecht.

CHAP. XIV. matized those who had assisted at the Council as
 "thieves, robbers, ravening wolves, detestable masters
 of error and iniquity." To the Elector and the Prince-
 Bishop (alas! their electorate and principedom were
 very nearly at an end,) Archbishop Meindaerts re-
 plied, tracing the history of his Church from the be-
 ginning, and re-stating the arguments which had been
 brought forward a hundred times, and had never been
 answered.

Censure of
 the Assem-
 bly of the
 clergy of
 France:

34. A heavier blow, however, awaited the aged
 Archbishop, in the sentence pronounced by a body
 from which he had every right to expect sympathy
 and assistance—the Assembly of the Church of France.
 The state of that Church was then most critical.
 Infidelity had already sapped the whole social organi-
 zation of the kingdom. The Jesuits were on the point
 of being banished from the country. Several of the
 highest dignitaries of the Church were known to be
 actual, and all but professed, atheists; Loménie de
 Brié, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and afterwards Car-
 dinal, heading that number. Almost to a man, the
 existing prelates had been appointed through the in-
 fluence of the Jesuits; and they well repaid, in the
 last struggle of the Society, the assistance which they
 had received from it. It is needless to enter into the
 details of a judgment so notoriously the effect of a
 partizan spirit. The Archbishop of Toulouse was
 appointed president of the committee which examined
 the Acts of the Council. How much time he had
 bestowed on their perusal his report may shew. He
 characterizes them as the composition of the Arch-
 bishop, of Hieronymus de Boch, Bishop of Haarlem,
 and John Peter van Stiphon, Bishop of Deventer.
 Now there never were persons of the name of Boch
 or Stiphon. There was a Hieronymus de Bock, who

its hurry.

had been Bishop, as we have seen, of Haarlem, but he had been in his grave nineteen years when the Council met; there was also, as we have seen, a Bishop van Stipbout, but his see was not Deventer, but Haarlem. Byevelt, who was Bishop of Deventer, and who had assisted as such at every session of the Council, is not so much as once mentioned in the censure. The report thus drawn up was submitted to the Assembly at such a time as only to leave its members the period intervening between the afternoon session of June 25th and the morning session of June 26th, to read both the Acts of the Council, a large duodecimo volume of 638 pages, and the report itself. It is no wonder, therefore, that the censures of Rome and Cologne were, in all their material points, adopted.

35. This was the last trouble to which, for the sake of the Church of Utrecht, Archbishop Meindaerts was exposed. He died in a good old age, on the 31st of October, 1767, having governed his Church for twenty-eight years, and having been ordained priest, as I have related in its place, by Luke Fagān, Bishop of Meath, in 1716.

Death of
Archbishop
Mein-
daerts.

CHAPTER XV.

WALTER MICHAEL VAN NIEUWENHUISEN,

ELEVENTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1768—1797.

C H A P.
XV.
Election of
Van Nieu-
wenhuisen. 1. THE Chapter assembled as usual after the de-
cease of their last prelate, and unanimously elected
Walter Michael van Nieuwenhuisen, who had been
for many years Pastor of Dort. The usual formalities
were observed: notice was given to the See of Rome;
application was made for a dispensation, in case three
bishops should not be found willing to assist at the
election; and an invitation addressed to the neigh-
bouring prelates to be present. The usual success
having followed these endeavours, the Bishop-elect
was consecrated on Sexagesima Sunday, 1768, by
Van Stiphout, Bishop of Haarlem, assisted by the
Bishop of Deventer and the Dean of the Metropolit-
ical Chapter, in place of the three other prelates.

The ordinary Bull of Excommunication followed,
but the usual appeal of the Church of Utrecht to the
Œcumenical Council, as already made, was not re-
peated.

Suppres-
sion of the
Order of
Jesuits.

2. But the downfall of the great enemies of Utrecht
was near at hand. Clement XIII., the tool of the
Jesuits, and their slave, died on Candlemas-day,
1769. Even during his reign, the secularization of
the Jesuits was earnestly demanded, and was the sub-
ject of ordinary conversation. Ricci, their general,
maintained in a thesis that such an act was beyond
the power even of the Pope. Obligated to retract that

statement,—“At all events,” he said, “I am free to CHAP. XV. believe that if the Pope consents to it he will be damned.” “That,” replied the Cardinal with whom he was talking, “is a matter of pious opinion, not of faith.” When Cardinal Ganganelli, who took the name of Clement XIV., ascended the pontifical throne, the Jesuits must have felt that their last hour had arrived. Yet they might have existed for a while longer, had they not chosen to print and circulate the Bull *In Cœnâ Domini*, the annual publication of which Clement XIV. had suppressed. Overwhelmed with protestations from every part of Europe against the Company, the Pontiff made a retreat of two months in the summer of 1773; and in its course superintended the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, by which he suppressed and extinguished for ever the whole order of Jesuits.

3. The earlier years of Van Nieuwenhuisen’s episcopate were, so far as his diocese was concerned, distinguished by no great event. But the remarkable movement in Tuscany, in favour of a Catholic reform, of which Scipio Ricci was the life and the spirit, produced, at no distant period, a crowd of testimonies in favour of Utrecht. Dignitaries of the University of Sienna, bishops of the Tuscan Church, heads of religious orders in the north of Italy, all vied with each other in congratulating the courageous defenders of the Church of Holland, and in affirming the purity of their faith. But a similar demonstration of feeling in Spain had nearly led to serious consequences. Testimonies from Italy.

4. It was the March of 1769. The Court of Spain was then soliciting the suppression of the Company of JESUS, and the canonization of D. Juan de Palafox, one of the holiest men of his age, and one of the most redoubtable enemies of that Society. Figueredo de Affair of the Bishop of Barcelona.

CHAP. XV. Affair of
the Bishop
of Barce-
lona. Pereira had just published the third edition of his immortal *Tentativa Theologica*, which had been, though unfaithfully^a, translated into Italian, and of which a Latin version had appeared at Venice. Things were in this condition when D. Jozé Climent, Bishop of Barcelona, in a Pastoral Instruction, which recommended to his clergy a Spanish translation of Fleury's *Mœurs des Israelites et des Chrétiens*, took occasion to deplore, with that historian, the disuse of provincial councils, and the episcopal isolation consequent on their discontinuance; and to mention, with applause, the Second Council of Utrecht, with the Acts of which he had been presented. The Nuncio at Madrid soon denounced this work at Rome, and the Inquisitor-General in Spain had orders to proceed against it. He thought it necessary to inform the Court, and by it the cause was taken out of his hands, and evoked to the Ecclesiastical Council. This was a body of five archbishops and bishops, and two generals of orders, by whose advice, in ecclesiastical matters, the king was governed; and the President, Rodriguez de Arellano, Archbishop of Burgos, pronounced his decision in the autumn of the same year. It was to this effect: that the cause of the Church of Utrecht was not then question for consideration; Rome might be perfectly justified in its course, or Utrecht might be entirely right in its opposition; but the matter for their decision was whether the Bishop of Barcelona had or had not transgressed the bounds of deference to the Holy See which every Catholic was bound to observe:—

“It was not likely,” he remarked, “that twenty or thirty bishops, the University of Louvain, a hundred doctors of the Sorbonne, and so many superiors of different orders, should

^a Catalogo das Obras de Pereira, p. 53.

have supported the Church of Holland, had they not been CHAP. XV. in possession of proofs that that communion was perfectly orthodox. It was true that Rome had condemned the Church of Holland, but the cause had never been fairly heard: it should have been, in the first instance, decided on the spot; and then, if need were, carried to the Roman Pontiff; and that not only by the common right of every Church, but by especial privileges, and more particularly the Bulls of 1515 and 1517, appertaining to the Church of Holland."

5. The Assembly at Madrid approved this report, and, in their address to the king, characterized not only that, but the other works of Dom Jozé Climent, as worthy of the age of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; adding that, so far from having over-stated the case of the National Church in Holland, the moderation evinced with regard to it was in the highest degree praiseworthy: nor would it have been matter for blame had that prelate, whose learning marked him out as able to speak with authority, solicited his Majesty to intercede with the Court of Rome for its reconciliation with Utrecht. The Ecclesiastical Council of Spain in favour of the Church of Utrecht.

6. The Court of Madrid received the address with great satisfaction, especially when taken in connection with the canonization of Palafox. This affair had now been in progress for more than eighty years, and nothing hindered the wished-for result but the natural opposition of the Jesuits. Juan de Palafox, Bishop, first of Puebla de Los Angeles, in America, and then of Osma, in Spain, had opposed the most vigorous resistance to the pretensions of the Company; and this had been among the points alleged by the Promoter of the Faith in the process—since carried to a successful termination—of his beatification. The commission entrusted with the examination of his writings had, even under Clement XIII., who was Proposed canonization of Juan de Palafox.

CHAP. XV. devoted to the Jesuits, pronounced that they contained nothing worthy of any theological censure; and now, under Clement XIV., a man of a very different stamp, it seemed likely that the sanctity of the Spanish Bishop would be formally declared.

Forged
letter of
Archbishop
Mein-
daerts:

7. An ingenious artifice was therefore employed to prejudice the Court of Rome. A certain letter, bearing date December 15th, 1770, and signed by Meindaerts, was fabricated by the Jesuits, published with the imprint of Van der Weyde, the well-known "Jansenist" bookseller at Utrecht, and forwarded to Rome. In it the Archbishop was made to say that the known attachment of that prelate to the Five famous Propositions would in case of his beatification be equivalent to a retractation on the part of Rome of the Bulls which had been directed against them. The forgers of this document procured its transmission, by the post-office at Lille, to certain of the Roman Cardinals, and more especially to those who were known to be hostile to the proposed measure; and the editor of the organ of the Company, the Gazette of Cologne, took care to trumpet the intelligence of the new Jansenist plot as widely as possible over Europe. But the stratagem was soon discovered. It was remarked that the paper employed for the pretended Pastoral bore the water-mark of the manufactory at Albano, then conducted by the Jesuits, and the envelopes were of Roman manufacture.

disavowed
by Arch-
bishop van
Nieuwen-
huisen,

8. The Archbishop and his two suffragans drew up a formal act, in which they disavowed this piece; shewed that it contradicted the known and published sentiments of the last Council of Utrecht, in which the Five famous Propositions were expressly condemned; that one of the names attached to it was that of a prelate who was dead three years previously;

and declared that the document in question was CHAP. XV. grossly injurious to the Holy See and to Palafox, and therefore—if for no other reasons—could not have emanated from the Church of Utrecht. Archbishop Van Nieuwenhuisen sent copies of this act to Clement XIV., to the Court of Spain, and to other quarters. To the Pope he at the same time addressed a letter expressing, in the strongest terms, his veneration for the See of Rome, and conjuring his Holiness to judge, by this artifice, of the other no less disingenuous means which had been employed to render the Church of Utrecht suspected. Clement XIV. was much gratified by the disavowal, and ordered that the original act should be deposited in the archives of the Apostolic Chamber.

9. This affair revived hopes of a reconciliation with Rome. Marefoschi, Secretary to the Propaganda, and at this time presented with the scarlet hat, felt a lively interest in the sufferings of Utrecht. De Hallwell, Bishop of Neustadt, explained its affairs to the Empress Maria Theresa, and engaged her good offices on behalf of a Church so afflicted, and yet so faithful.

Clement XIV. replied most graciously: the duty of his office, he said, would have compelled him to endeavour after a happy termination⁵ to the existing division; of course, the intercession of so beloved a daughter could not fail to add to his eagerness for the accomplishment of so happy an event; the Church of Utrecht had only to send deputies to Rome, furnished with full powers; and then, after the transaction of a few preliminaries, equally just and easy, he would treat with the members of the National Church, not as a Pope, but as a tender father. A long series of negotiations followed; and two deputies were actually ready to be sent to Rome

Fresh
hopes of a
reconciliation
with
Rome.

CHAP. XV. after the Easter of 1770. But another preliminary demand was made ; an assurance from the sovereigns of the country that they were not opposed to the union ; and the promise of acquiescence on the part of at least a large portion of the clergy who were not in the communion of the National Church. These two points were laboured at when intelligence was received that, pressed as he was by matters of the highest importance, such as the demanded extinction of the Company, the Pope could not examine the cause of the Church of Utrecht till those affairs were settled. Memorials were, however, prepared, documents arranged, everything made ready. The cause of the suffering Church was warmly taken up. The Court of Madrid instructed its minister at Rome, the Archbishop of Valencia, to agitate in its favour. On the vacancy of the see of Salzburg, the principal Church of Germany, the suffragans and canons assembled to elect a successor mutually promised that whichever of them should be chosen to that episcopate should strain every nerve in favour of the Church of Utrecht ; and Count Colloredo, on being elected, nobly redeemed his pledge.

Preliminary demands.

10. The preliminary demands of Rome were, however, attended with insuperable difficulties. They involved the withdrawal of the appeals to the Future Council, both as regarded the *Unigenitus*, and the wrongs suffered by the National Church. It was answered that, however eager the separated prelates might be for a reunion, they could not desist from their appeal without entirely abandoning the cause for which their predecessors had so long and so gallantly contended, and committing an act which, in the very nature of things, must be suicidal. Count Colloredo was earnestly entreated to put himself at the head of

the prelates of Germany, and to demand that which the Pope seemed inclined to give. He thought it, however, the most respectful way to press the offer on the attention of Cardinal Marefoschi; and then, by all parties, it was agreed that it would be better to allow the negotiations to pause, till the extinction of the Jesuits should have freed the Church of Utrecht from her worst enemies. But the publication of that Bull was followed by the illness of the Pope,—an illness arising from no natural causes, which commenced at the following Easter. While its result was doubtful, the friends of Utrecht at the Court of Rome conjured the Archbishop to be earnest in his prayers for the recovery of Clement,—an event, they affirmed, which would be speedily followed by the wished-for reconciliation. But it pleased God that his sickness should terminate in death; and the dispositions of Cardinal Boschi, who succeeded under the title of Pius VI., were soon found to be less friendly. Matters therefore relapsed into their former condition.

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Illness of
Clement
XIV.

11. On the 16th of December, 1777, Bishop Van Stiphout departed this life. He had governed his flock with great prudence during thirty-two years, and was deeply mourned by his people. The Archbishop having given the Chapter the canonical time for another election, proceeded, by right of devolution, to nominate a successor. After some difficulty, the dignity was rather forced on than accepted by, Adrian John Broekman, who had been pastor at Culemburg, and was then President of the Seminary at Amersfoort. He was consecrated on the 21st of June, 1778. But on the preceding evening, Bishop Byevelt, of Deventer, departed this life; and thus the Church of Holland was again reduced, for a few hours, to a dependence on one bishop only. Byevelt's

Death of
Bishop Van
Stiphout.Consecra-
tion of
Bishop
Broekman.Death of
Bishop
Byevelt.

CHAP. XV. death, in the 65th year of his age, and the twenty-first of his episcopate, was the greater loss, because his manners were peculiarly engaging, and he possessed singular influence in the country. The Archbishop and new Bishop of Haarlem wrote to Pius VI., in the same strain as their predecessors had done to former Popes ; and this in opposition to the advice of many French Canonists, who maintained that experience had demonstrated the uselessness of such an act ; and that it seemed only to excite greater anger in the Court of Rome. Pius VI. replied by a Bull couched in the ordinary terms of "disobedience," "sacrilege," "schism," "ravelling wolves," and the like. In the place of Bishop Byevelt, Nicolas Nellemans, Pastor at Delft, was raised to the vacant see, and consecrated on the Festival of SS. Simon and Jude. The same notification to Rome met with the same result as so many others, but the publication of this Bull was attended with a singular circumstance. It was promulgated with greater solemnity than usual on Jan. 18, 1779, the Feast of the Chair of S. Peter. At the moment of its publication the great bell of S. Peter's split ; and a few moments after, the huge lamp that hung before the Papal throne, and which weighed 300 pounds, fell, providentially without doing any harm. This occurrence is said to have created a great sensation at Rome.

Death of
De Belle-
garde.

12. In 1789 the Church of Holland lost De Bellegarde, its earnest and loving supporter and faithful historian. On the death of D'Étemare, in 1770, he had left Rhijnwyck, and had settled at Utrecht, and there carried on his numerous and laborious works with a zeal that old age could not diminish. He died rather suddenly on the 13th of December, in the 73rd year of his age. Not privileged to see the reunion

for which he had so fondly longed, he saw, at least, CHAP. XV.
 a growing and strengthening feeling in behalf of his
 Church, and died possessed of documents in its favour Testimo-
 from some of the most eminent prelates of Europe. nies in
 The most celebrated, besides those above-mentioned, favour of
 are, Cardinal Marefoschi, Bortoli, titular Archbishop the Church
 of Nazianzum; Climent, Bishop of Barcelona; Scipio of Utrecht.
 Ricci, of Pistoia; Carsolli, of Aste; Herberstein, of
 Laybach; Rauttenstrauch, of Braun; the University
 of Siena; the University of Louvain; the Archbishop
 of Salzburg, in 1772; and numerous dignitaries in
 Tuscany, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, at Pavia, and
 Vienna. "We promise to maintain," say some of
 these documents, "that the Church of Utrecht is be-
 yond all suspicion of heresy or schism, and we regard
 it as truly Roman Catholic."

13. No other event of importance, in the internal
 history of the Church of Utrecht, occurred during the
 episcopate of Van Nieuwenhuisen. The revolutionary Outbreak
 storm that burst over Europe attracted every thought of the re-
 and fear to itself. The good old Archbishop was taken volution.
 from the evil to come, dying shortly after the insti-
 tution of the Batavian Republic had been proclaimed;
 and the miserable people of Holland were reduced
 almost to despair under the oppression and tyranny
 of their French invaders. He died the death of the Death of
 righteous, on Good Friday, April 14, 1797. the Arch-
bishop.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOHN JACOB VAN RHIJN,

TWELFTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1797—1808.

CHAP.
XVI.

Conse-
cra-
tion of
Archbi-
shop Van
Rhijn.

1. THE new republic did not interfere with ecclesiastical matters; nor did the oppression under which the people groaned affect the National Church. The Chapter assembled quietly, and elected as their Archbishop John Jacob van Rhijn, then pastor at Utrecht, and of a family which, through all its vicissitudes, had remained true to the National Church. His consecration took place on the 5th of July, and was performed by Broekman, Bishop of Haarlem, and Nellemans, Bishop of Deventer. The usual notice was given to Pius VI., and it was hoped that if the captivity of the Pope would hardly allow him to enter into friendly negotiations with the Church of Utrecht, it would at least prevent his replying in the ordinary strain of excommunication. That hope was disappointed. The usual excommunication was issued, and dispersed over Holland by way of Brussels.

National
Council of
the con-
stitutional
Bishops,
Aug. 1797.

2. Scarcely had Van Rhijn assumed the helm of the Church of Holland, when the constitutional Bishops of the Church of France met in council in Notre-Dame at Paris. It is no part of my task to pronounce any opinion on the principles and the conduct of these men. Placed in times of extraordinary difficulty, in the chaotic conflict of the old and new systems, when every ordinary principle of guidance seemed to fail, at a period when the old Church of France (the fact must

never be forgotten) was about to *perish*^a, they cannot be judged by ordinary rules: perhaps it must be left to posterity to pronounce an impartial sentence upon them. I know that they are not only execrated by Ultramontane Europe, but are mercilessly condemned by writers of the English Church. To their own master they have stood or have fallen: if He saw their errors, He knew their difficulties; if some apostatized from the faith, some died martyrs for CHRIST'S Name^b.

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"Whatever opinion," says Guettée, (and I heartily re-echo his words,) "may be formed regarding the constitutional bishops, all must agree that they accepted with courage the situation to which events had reduced the Church of France, and that without delay they put their hand to the work of raising it from its ruins, without seeking any other support (save God) than the good-will of the faithful. Many writers have felt bound to speak of their National Council with a ridicule which it does not deserve. *We* consider the duty of an historian who respects himself to be this: always to speak seriously of an event exceedingly important in itself, and especially so in the circumstances under which it occurred."

Le Coz, Archbishop of Rennes, (afterwards, under the Concordat, Archbishop of Besançon,) presided: the Pope, who gave no single word, in answer, of advice, or help, was assured of the inviolable attachment of the Council to the Catholic faith, and besought to acknowledge it; and a touching letter was addressed to the *insermentés* on the duty of union:—

Their
Synodal
Letter.

"We will adapt ourselves to all dispositions, we will support all evils, we will manifest all lawful condescension, rather

^a It must always be remembered that the Bull *Qui Christi Domini*, Nov. 29, 1801, absolutely suppressed and annulled the then existing French Church,—23 archbishoprics and 133 suffragans,—to erect on its ruins the NEW Church of 10 archbishoprics

and 50 suffragans. Was ever such devastation wrought in a National Church?

^b Thus, if nine constitutional bishops had married, eight had perished as martyrs on the scaffold.

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than allow such a scandal to subsist. If our love, if our care for you lead us to open our hearts to you with the frankness due to brothers, it is not that we also have not our own prepossessions; it is that we have less confidence in the righteousness of our cause than you have in the goodness of yours. We pour out our souls in the bosom of our brethren: they may endeavour to escape from our embraces—they can never rid themselves of our affection."

Connection
of the
Church of
Utrecht
with Gré-
goire.

3. With these prelates, and especially with Grégoire, Bishop of Loire-et-Cher, the Church of Utrecht deeply sympathized. She could not but feel for the men who afterwards, in their negotiations with Bonaparte, thus expressed themselves:—

"If the Roman Pontiff declares our sees vacant, we will tell him that he has not the right, and that they are more canonically filled than the chair of S. Peter. If he requires our resignations, we shall reply that he has not the power. If, in his Bull, he insinuates the least doubt as to the legitimacy of our episcopate, the Bull will be declared criminal; if he evades this point, it will be returned as insufficient."

In like manner they denounced the Concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. as destructive of the liberties of the Church, and in consequence they excited the opposition of both Napoleon and Pius VII. The connection, however, between the constitutional Church of France and that of Utrecht requires access to documents yet inaccessible, and perhaps the lapse of a longer period of time, before it can be fairly and satisfactorily related.

Treaty of
Campo
Formio.

4. Archbishop Van Rhijn had held his see only for a few months when the treaty of Campo Formio divided the Austrian Netherlands and the province of Liège into nine departments, and made them an integral part of the French republic. Pichegru had previously carried his victorious arms into Holland; the Prince

of Orange had resigned the possession of the supreme power, and had retired to England; and the “Batavian republic,” modelled after the French pattern, was, in fact, under the arbitrary power of the French ambassador at the Hague. Though Dutch Flanders and Maestricht were ceded to France, the new distribution of bishoprics effected by the Concordat of 1801 did not infringe, or scarcely infringed on, the old jurisdiction of Utrecht and her suffragans. The Archbishopric of Mechlin now contained the sees of Namur, Tournay, Aix-la-Chapelle, Trèves, Ghent, Liège, and Mayence. Amidst all these dangers and chances, the despised National Church held its own, and suffered no serious loss. The first event within her pale was the death of Bishop Broekman, which occurred on the 28th of November, 1800: his place was filled by John Nieuwenhuis, pastor at Amsterdam, consecrated on the Feast of S. Simon and S. Jude, 1801. Next Bishop Nellesmans, of Deventer, was taken to his rest on May 5, 1805: his successor was Gisbertus de Jong, pastor at Rotterdam, consecrated on the 7th of November in the same year.

5. The Batavian Republic ceased in 1806: Louis, the brother of the first and father of the third Napoleon, was raised to the throne of Holland. The administration of this prince, crippled as he was by the gigantic and overbearing power of France, deserves all praise; and the most pleasing chapter in Dom Pitra's work is that in which he relates the courage displayed by the king in the terrible inundation of 1809, as well as in the great fire of Leyden in 1807. To Protestants, and to members of the Roman communion, he was alike generous and just; to the National Church alone he entertained an invincible repugnance—a repugnance which had almost occasioned its ruin. For some years

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it was in agitation to introduce a Roman episcopate into Holland, but while the Church of Utrecht subsisted, an invincible obstacle seemed to oppose the design. Who it is that has to answer for the foul means employed to remove that obstacle will probably never be known till the day of judgment.

Death of
Archbi-
shop Van
Rhijn.

6. On the 24th of June, 1808, the Archbishop had, as was his wont, been walking in his garden, when, on returning to his house, a letter was put into his hands as requiring an immediate answer. He took it and opened it, was shortly afterwards seized with violent convulsions and spasms, and died in a few hours, with every appearance of poison. The sensation which must, under any circumstances, have been occasioned by his death, was increased by the means employed to prevent the election of any successor.

Excom-
muni-
cations by
Rome.

7. It is almost needless repetition to relate that the election and consecration of the Bishops of Deventer and Haarlem were received with the usual briefs by the Papal Court. Pius VII. trod only too faithfully in the footsteps of his predecessors.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SEE VACANT. 1808—1814.

WILLIBRORD VAN OS,

THIRTEENTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1814—1825.

1. THE late Archbishop had not been laid in his grave, when, on the 27th of June, as the Chapter of Utrecht were in private consultation preparatory to the election of a successor, a message was transmitted to them by the Minister of the Interior, forbidding them to take any further steps in the affair. So unexpected an inhibition threw the canons into the greatest embarrassment. No such obstacle had been experienced since the first permission given, which led to the election of Steenoven, and the Chapter hardly knew how to act. For the present they appointed the Bishop of Deventer and Willibrord van Os, president of the Seminary at Amersfoort, and pastor there, Grand-Vicars, the see vacant. It was clearly the intention of the king, himself to nominate to the vacant see, and the complication of affairs rendered a line of action still more difficult.

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The Government
forbids any
election.

2. On the 27th of September a petition was laid before the king, in which it was represented—that the canons rendered it imperative on the Chapter to proceed to the election of a bishop; that no obstacle had ever been thrown in the way even by a Protestant government; that from a Catholic prince greater favour might be expected; while his Majesty's well-known liberality to all sects was an earnest that the

Remonstrance of
the Chapter.

C H A P. XVII. National Church might look for entire freedom of action. The reply was the curt note, (Oct. 7,)—"The motives which induced the king to forbid this step, exist still.—R. G. de TUYLL." De Tuyl was the *aide-des-cérémonies*.

Now this, I cannot but feel, is the weak point of the Church of Holland. They had braved the menace of the Court of Rome; they had faced opprobrium, scorn, contempt, danger of all sorts; they had very willingly spent and been spent for their great principle, when they proceeded, in spite of all vetoes, to the election of Steenoven. Would those great spirits of the former age, Van Erkel, Broedersen, Krys, Dallenoot, who for the truth's sake had stood in opposition to Clement XI., have succumbed to the command of any king, more especially a mushroom and upstart potentate like Louis? But so it was—the Chapters yielded, and the metropolitical see stood vacant.

Death of
Bishop
Nieuwen-
huis.

3. The tyranny of Napoleon, the ruin of his adopted country, the misery everywhere present, were too much for the really kind heart of King Louis. Had our ill-fated expedition to Walcheren succeeded, he was ready to have joined the invaders, and to have taken up arms against his imperial brother. Finding himself a mere slave under a kingly title, he resolved in 1810 to resign, and Holland was immediately annexed to the French empire. On the 14th of January in that year the Bishop of Haarlem had departed to his rest. The existence of the Church of Holland now again hung on one life, yet still the Chapter took no steps. Internal dissensions had sprung up, and it seemed that the sands of the Church's existence were running out.

Visit of
Napoleon
to Utrecht.

4. In the October of 1811 Napoleon was at Utrecht, and the principal ecclesiastics of the national communion attended his levee. It must have been a sight

somewhat like that when the Scotch bishops were presented to George IV. The Emperor remained firm in his refusal to permit any election :—" I will myself treat with the Pope," he said, " and arrange the organization of the Church of Holland." I have been told, by one present on that occasion, that he was much struck by the appearance and address of Van Os, a most accomplished speaker, an excellent scholar, and a man of aristocratic bearing. The Emperor had conceived the plan of confiscating the revenues of the National Church. Van Os boldly and resolutely withstood the man to whose iron will Pius VII. had yielded. Such unwonted courage made its way to the despot's heart. He not only, at a second interview, treated the Vicar-general with marked attention, but, on the borders of Russia, placed him in commission with Cramer, arch-priest of the mission, and a third person, to decide on a plan for a new division of parishes in the country. He intimated his intention, on his return from Moscow, of bringing about a reconciliation of Utrecht with Rome.

In the meanwhile the Church had yet to experience its narrowest escape. On a dark winter's night, Bishop de Jong, returning home along the edge of a dyke, missed his footing, and fell into the canal. For some minutes his life was in imminent danger : on that life hung the fortunes of the Church of Utrecht.

Narrow
escape of
Bishop de
Jong.

5. At last a nation's patriotism and Russian snows did their work. The retreat from Moscow opened a door to the liberation of Europe. The battle of Leipzig rendered every soldier necessary to the defeated tyrant, and Holland was thus left under the military despotism of not more than 10,000 men. Now was the time to throw off the yoke. Five intrepid men resolved on the act of freedom :—

Liberation
of Holland.

" Their first movements at the Hague," says an able his-

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Liberation
of Holland.

torian, "were totally unsupported by foreign aid. Their early check from the exasperated French and their over-cautious countrymen would have deterred most men embarked in so perilous a venture ; but they never swerved nor shrank back. At the head of a force, which courtesy and policy called an army, of 300 national guards badly armed, 50 citizens carrying fowling-pieces, 50 soldiers of the old Dutch guard, 400 auxiliary citizens armed with pikes, and a cavalry force of twenty young men, the confederates boldly proclaimed the Prince of Orange on the 17th of November, 1813, in the open village of the Hague, and in the teeth of a French force of full 10,000 men, occupying every fortress in the country."

Consecra-
tion of
Arch-
bishop
Van Os.

6. Events followed each other in rapid succession : the landing of the Prince of Orange ; the arrival of British and Russian auxiliaries ; the acceptance by the Prince of the supreme power ; and the expulsion of the French. Not till the scale was fairly turned did the Chapter proceed to election. The archiepiscopal see had remained vacant nearly six years ; Willebrord van Os was deservedly raised to it, and was consecrated by the Bishop of Deventer on April 24, being the second Sunday after Easter.

Altered
circum-
stances of
the Church
of Utrecht.

7. The marvellous events of the preceding thirty years, the general confusion of Europe, the rise and fall of empires, the general march of ecclesiastical events, had thrown the little Church of Holland into the shade. She had been, as it were, forgotten. A century before, the eyes of all Europe were upon her ; now her existence was known but to few. The perfect liberty given to Catholics, in common with all sectarian bodies, opened a wide door to Rome ; and one of the most practical arguments of the National Church was cut away from her by the appointment of Vicars-Apostolic. While not to belong to the Church of Utrecht was to be cut off from episcopacy, and, in

particular, to be left without the possibility of receiving the grace of Confirmation, there was a tangible argument to every religious mind—however little able to fathom the theory of the separation—in favour of Utrecht. Again, at the commencement of the schism, the numbers were three to two on the side of the National Church. Now, on awaking to the new era of readjusted Europe, the communion of Utrecht contained 5,000 souls; that of Rome, in Holland, about one million. Yet the little band of “Ancient Roman Catholics” suffered no defection; it has, if anything, increased its numbers since the recovered independence of Holland.

8. No sooner had Archbishop Van Os entered on his dignity, than he had to bear a sharp rebuke from the minister Roëll: “Had the clergy only asked his Majesty’s consent,” wrote that functionary, “it would not have been refused.” This declaration determined the Chapter not to proceed in filling up the see of Haarlem without the consent of the Government. But the trick was now discovered. The request was refused, on the ground that Government was in negotiation with respect to ecclesiastical affairs. Not till 1819, at the urgent solicitation of the Archbishop, was he ungraciously informed, that if the clergy were so impatient, they had simply to do what they thought necessary to be done.

9. On the 25th of April, 1819, John Bon, pastor in that city, was raised to the vacant see. His consecration was attended with more than one remarkable circumstance. Bishop Bon was the only prelate who escaped excommunication from Rome. This was owing to the good offices of Cardinal Gonzalvi, then Secretary of State. Eight years later he was nominated by the King of Holland to the vacant bishopric of

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Bruges. A curious ecclesiastical question was now raised. Would Rome grant the Bulls of a Jansenist Bishop? Would the old discussion about a succession derived from one prelate alone be revived? No difficulty of the latter kind was experienced; and in the Consistory of Cardinals the punning remark was made, *Dominus Bonus non potest esse pastor malus*. But, from other causes, the scheme fell to the ground.

10. Archbishop Van Os was in the seventieth year of his age when raised to the metropolitanical chair:—

“The earnestness of his faith,” says one who knew him personally^a, “his zeal for truth, his courage in the maintenance of the rights of the Church, the edifying manner in which he performed the functions of his ministry, the rare prudence with which he governed that portion of the flock which the Divine Shepherd had committed to his charge, the kindness with which he directed the young ecclesiastics who were destined for the service of the altar, the purity of his character, his prudent and mortified life, the sweetness of his behaviour, the gentleness of his countenance—all won him universal love and esteem.”

Negotia-
tions with
Archbi-
shop Na-
zalli.

11. It must be remembered that, though the national clergy were tolerated by the government, their prelates were in nowise recognised as the possessors of the titular sees. In the autumn of 1823 they were brought into contact with the State, under somewhat remarkable circumstances. The Court of Rome had despatched Nazalli, Archbishop of Cyrus *in partibus*, as Nuncio, to effect, if it were possible, a Concordat between the Holy See and the government of Holland. The Archbishop and his suffragans were eager to turn this occasion to good account. They learnt that Nazalli would not be unwilling to communicate with them, and the King expressed his desire of forwarding,

^a Abp. Van Santen, in the *Appel des Evêques*, p. 43.

so far as in him lay, an amicable arrangement. The winter had set in early; the Archbishop was nearly eighty; yet, on the 16th of November, he and his two suffragans arrived at the Hague. In addressing the Nuncio they signed their names, by a stretch of complaisance which was surely unwarrantable, without the addition of their ecclesiastical titles; and they learnt, as Codde and Van der Croon had learnt before them, that such courtesy was entirely misunderstood, and tended to remove its object further than ever. The Nuncio returned so insolent a reply, that in their rejoinder the Bishops stood upon their own dignity, and with happier effect. Nazalli's second reply being conceived in a more friendly strain, two members of the Chapter had an interview with the Secretary Belli: the only terms they could obtain were the adoption by the National Church of the following formula, to be signed by all the bishops and clergy:—

“I, the undersigned, declare my submission to the Apostolic Constitution of Pope Innocent X., bearing date May 31, 1653; as also to the Constitution of Pope Alexander VII., bearing date Oct. 16, 1656; and to the *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* of Pope Clement XI., dated July 16, 1703. I reject and condemn, with all my heart, the Five Propositions extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, in the sense of the author, as condemned by the Apostolic See and the aforesaid constitutions. Further, I submit, without any distinction, reservation, or explanation, to the Constitution of Clement XI., bearing date Sept. 8, 1713, and commencing with the word *Unigenitus*; I accept it purely and simply, and swear in consequence,—So help me God and the holy Gospel.”

12. The bishops replied that they would, with the greatest willingness, “accept, without any exception whatever, all the Articles of the holy Catholic faith, would neither hold nor teach, then or afterwards, any

Offer of the
Bishops.

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other opinions than those that had been decreed, determined, and published by our mother, the holy Church, conformably to Holy Scripture, tradition, the acts of Œcumenical Councils, and those of the Council of Trent; as also that they reject and condemn everything opposed to them—especially all heresies, without any one exception—that the Church has rejected and condemned; that they also detest at the same time every schism which might separate them from the communion of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and of its visible head upon earth; that they never made common cause with those that had broken the bond of unity; that in particular they reject and condemn the Five Propositions condemned by the Holy See, and which are stated to be found in the book of Jansenius called *Augustinus*; that they promise as well for the future as for the present, and in all things, to his Holiness the actual Pope Leo XII., and to his successors, fidelity, obedience, and submission, according to the Canons of the Church; and also to accept respectfully, to teach and to maintain, conformably with the same Canons, the decrees and constitutions of the Apostolic See.”

As Nazalli declared the above declaration insufficient, and insisted on the acceptation of his own formula, the negotiation was broken off, and the prelates left the Hague.

Death of
Bishop de
Jong.

13. On the 9th of July, 1824, Gisbert de Jong, Bishop of Deventer, departed this life. He had held that see for nineteen years, and for six of them the existence of the Church of Holland had depended on him. The Archbishop nominated in his place William Vet, a member of the Chapter, and pastor of S. James at the Hague. The letter in which he an-

nounced this nomination to Leo XII. is well worthy of translation, as well for its own merits as because it is a specimen of so many similar documents :—

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“ Utrecht, Nov. 27, 1824.

Letter
of Abp.
Van Os to
Leo XII.

“ MOST HOLY FATHER,

“ My predecessors have omitted no occasion of declaring and manifesting their sincere and constant adhesion to the Holy See, the centre of Catholic unity, and their profound veneration for the successors of S. Peter, vicar of JESUS CHRIST upon earth. Desirous of treading in their steps, I have written to your Holiness to inform you of the new election which I have made of one of my suffragans. Divine Providence having entrusted to me the government of this metropolitical see, I am bound to watch, conformably to the holy Canons of the Church, and especially to those of the Fourth Lateran Council, that no see be deprived of its own pastor through my negligence.

“ Gisbert de Jong, Bishop of Deventer since 1805, having departed this life, fortified by the sacraments of the Church, and the Chapter of that Church having been extinct for many years, I have regarded it as a duty imposed on me to institute a new bishop in the see of Deventer. Divine Providence having permitted me to elevate to this high office him whom I had always desired to see elevated to, and whom I esteemed worthy of, the episcopate, by reason of the purity of his doctrine, his character, and his eminent virtues, I have made choice of William Vet, canon of our metropolitical Church, archpriest of Delfland and of Rhijuland, and for many years curate of S. James at the Hague. After having implored the illumination of the HOLY GHOST, and taken the advice of my metropolitical Chapter, and other enlightened persons, I proceeded on the 7th of October to his canonical election ; and I hasten to announce it to your Holiness, conjuring you earnestly and humbly to agree and consent to it, and to give us a dispensation for the consecration of the prelate-elect, without the assistance of a third bishop, if one cannot be procured.

“ Would to God that our suppliant and sincere request may reach your Holiness under happy auspices ! For we

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of Arch-
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are not ignorant that there are those who endeavour by their calumnies to impose upon you, and to indispose you against us. What! while we give so many public and constant testimonies of our respect for and submission to the Holy See, and omit nothing which can preserve or re-establish peace between us, these men, on the contrary, as little anxious for truth as for brotherly union, venture to denounce us falsely as enemies to the Holy See, and schismatics, and endeavour, by their calumnious accusations, to sow new difficulties, to ferment new discussions, and to excite new discords.

“Are we culpable with respect to the Holy See, do we endeavour to enfeeble its authority in any one of its prerogatives, because in our elections we follow the constant customs of our Church, and because, according to the use of the Churches of Germany, of which we are one, we request their confirmation from the Apostolic See—a demand which, on our part, is surely a proof of our submission and respect towards that see?

“But if the malignity and envy of our detractors induce them to accuse this mark of deference to the Holy See, what would they not say of us if we omitted it? That omission could not fail in their eyes to be a crime. When we profess our obedience, they regard it as feigned only, and merely outside show; if we have recourse to the Holy See, they affirm that that very recourse is but another proof of our opposition to, and of our separation from, the sovereign Pontiff.

“It is not so, Holy Father. It is in the spirit of peace, and not from any ill intention, that we present ourselves before your Holiness. Far from us be all feigned and deceitful words! We have but one aim—to profess with our lips the sincerity which inspires our hearts. God forbid that your Holiness should permit our adversaries any longer to abuse your august name, and so to ensnare our sheep—too nearly seduced already—and to deceive those who are not on their guard, and who, entertaining no mistrust, might embrace their sentiments as those of the Holy See!

“What scandal! what loss of souls! what disgrace to the Holy See result from these machinations! Would to God that your Holiness could, once for all, be well informed on

the subject! How speedily would you put an end to all these proclamations, to these briefs, by which, after having laid hands on the vineyard of Naboth, they endeavour to asperse his character and to conspire his death! What then is the motive, the cause for which, so often and so loudly, they have sounded the Roman trumpet against us? What is the question at issue between us and the Curialists? Is it a point of doctrine? But ours has been sufficiently made known by the Acts of our Council of Utrecht, and by many other documents spread abroad both at Rome and through the world. Is it a question of the primacy and the rights of your Church? But we have entered into its interests, and undertaken its defence, in the same Council. It is not on these grounds, holy Father, that they attack us; but they regard us with ill-will and condemn us because we defend, like good shepherds, our sheep against those who would take them from us, and because we maintain the rights of our Church. The only point in question is this:—whether the Batavian Church, which has always preserved its hierarchical order, and which has made itself celebrated under the rule and government of its own pastors, should be at once turned into a simple mission at the good pleasure of the Curialists; so that, if I may thus speak, it should be deprived, by one stroke of the pen, of its bishops and cathedral chapters?

“Our adversaries are much mistaken in imagining that they can arrive at this goal. We have proved it by many different works, and more especially by the luminous dissertations of the most learned canonists; and we have no doubt that if your Holiness would condescend to read, to study, and to consider them, with the equity and the sagacity which distinguish you, you would at once terminate the cause in our favour. But even under the hypothesis that the claim of our adversaries is based on justice,—is the affair of such importance, that for its sake the innocent are to be overwhelmed with reproaches and maledictions, priests of the LORD are to be defamed, sheep to be detached from their legitimate pastors; and that from the very place where JESUS CHRIST has established the centre of Catholic unity, decrees should originate subversive of peace, and which, on this very

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account, do not bear the character and the proof of loving and seeking unity?

“These evils, holy Father, are very grave, and we who experience them are not those alone who are afflicted by them. All good men, through the whole extent of the Church, groan over them, and the more sincere and firm their attachment to the Holy See, the more ardently they desire some remedy. And who can remedy these ills more efficaciously than the sovereign Pontiffs, whose name is abused so as to originate them? But far be from us the thought that they are the authors of the injustice committed by their ministers and faithless counsellors. For if it is part of the duty of sovereign Pontiffs, on account of the authority bestowed on them by their primacy, to interfere in Churches at a distance from home for the preservation of right and good order, how much more should they repress the excesses which pass under their very eyes, and, as it were, in their own house? I entreat, holy Father, that you will pardon the sincerity of my tone, and will not take what I have said in bad part, as if in complaining to your see I were failing in the respect due to the sovereign Pontiff; since, on the contrary, our application to your Holiness is a public profession of our indivisible union with, and inviolable attachment to, the Holy See, and the entire confidence which your justice and piety inspire in us.

“Such are, and such always will be, the sentiments of our hearts, and especially of my own. I prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness, entreating your apostolic benediction.

“WILLIBRORD,

Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of Utrecht.”

Before, however, any reply was received from Rome, a short illness carried the aged Archbishop to the grave. He died at Amersfoort, Feb. 28, 1825, in the 81st year of his age, and the eleventh of his episcopate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JOHN VAN SANTEN,

FOURTEENTH ARCHBISHOP OF UTRECHT.

1825.

1. THUS the existence of the Church of Holland again hung on one life; and the Chapter seems to have been more awake both to its duties and to its dangers than in the long vacancy on the death of Van Rhijn. Three months had already passed since notification had been made to the Court of Rome of the election of William Vet, and the Chapter therefore requested the Bishop of Haarlem to proceed to the consecration of the Prelate-designate. Reference was also made to the Government, by whom every encouragement was given to proceed, and the ceremony took place at the church of S. James, at the Hague, the Second Sunday after Trinity, June 12, 1825. It was conducted with a considerable amount of splendour, and excited great attention on the part of the Protestants as well as Catholics. To this consecration the royal assent was given, and the titles of the national bishops were thenceforth recognised.

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William
Vet, Bi-
shop of
Deventer.

2. The Chapter had been invited to assist at the consecration; and on the following Tuesday it assembled for the election of an archbishop. There were present, Cornelius de Jong, Dean; William Vet, Bishop of Deventer; Bernard Knijter, John van Santen, G. Spruijt, Arnold Stanislaus van Werckhoven^a, and Arand Rottcreel. One of the canons, De Wit,

^a It is to the Abbé van Werckhoven that I owe my first introduction to the National Church of Hol-

land, in the May of 1851. He departed this life May 12, 1852.

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John van
Santen,
Arch-
bishop-
elect.

was absent from necessary causes; but he sent his vote sealed and certified. The Bishop of Haarlem, though not a member of the Chapter, was requested to be present. After a short address from the Dean, secretaries were appointed, the votes were taken, and by a majority the canons elected John van Santen, pastor at Schiedam. The Chapter applied, as usual, to the Pope, but, also as usual, without receiving any answer; and the consecration took place in the church of S. Gertrude at Utrecht, on the 13th of November, the Sunday within the octave of S. Willebrord. The governor of the province, and other civil authorities, were present on the occasion. I observe, that in his letter to the Pope the Archbishop signs himself "brother," instead of "son," as his predecessors had, up to that time, done. The usual brief of excommunication followed: it bears date Jan. 13, 1826.

Favourable
disposition
of the Go-
vernment.

3. No difficulty was experienced on the part of the Government; the three bishops were admitted to an audience in due form; salaries were granted them; a Secretary-General was recognised, and also salaried. Government even took upon itself to send the Protest of the prelates—of which more presently—through the channel of their ambassadors, to the bishops in various countries. Thus there appeared nothing more for which the clergy had need to wish; yet at this very moment the "Put not your trust in princes" was a most needful warning. The prelates had requested to be officially recognised as Archbishop of Utrecht and Bishops of Haarlem and Deventer. Government promised to do so; yet shortly afterwards an official declaration was put forth, that they were only recognised as Bishops *at* Utrecht, *at* Haarlem, and *at* Deventer.

4. In the following February, the Archbishop and his two suffragans addressed an admirable encyclic to all bishops of the Catholic Church. It goes over the old ground calmly and briefly ; states the facts of the schism ; proves the nullity and invalidity of the pretended excommunication of the Court of Rome ; shews that there is no charge of heresy ; enters into the details of the last negotiation under Nazalli ; protests against the appellation of *Jansenist*, and invokes the mediation of the united episcopate with the Court of Rome, concluding with the usual appeal to the Future Œcumenical Council. This document was addressed to each individual bishop with a letter, the spirit of which is well set forth by a quotation from S. Augustine which it contains : “ We suffer injuries with patience, to preserve the peace of the Church ; we abhor to yield to any novelty of heresy or schism ; we use our utmost efforts to re-enter that external communion from which it is endeavoured to exclude us.” This was the principle of Van Heussen, Codde, Van Erkel, and Varlet ; it has descended unchanged to the present generation of the National Church.

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The encyclic of
1826.

5. In 1827, Monseigneur Capaccini was sent as Papal Nuncio into Holland, for the purpose of settling the ecclesiastical condition of affairs. He sought an interview with the Archbishop, of which so faithful an account is given by Dr. Tregelles, that I shall avail myself, with a few omissions, of his account, rather than re-write one of my own :—

Mission of
Capaccini.

“ Although the appointment of Archbishop Van Santen had been (as usual) followed by a renewed excommunication by Rome, yet Capaccini sought to win him just as if no such hostile step had been taken. He invited Archbishop Van Santen to a conference, with which he complied.

First conference of
Capaccini
with the
Archbishop.

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“In the first conference Capaccini spoke much of the unity of the Church; of the deep interest felt at Rome amongst the papal authorities on account of the Jansenists; how they admired their firm adhesion to the Apostolical See, in spite of all that had occurred in the last two centuries; how their steadfastness was only the more admirable in a country like Holland, with Protestants all around them; how firm a stand they had made against lax casuistry; and how much he hoped that no real difficulties might be found which would cause them to continue in any sense separated from the unity of the Catholic body.

“As to Archbishop Van Santen, personally, he was told by Capaccini how much his hopes rested on him, as a person so diligent in his attention to every canonical regulation—an attention shewn (he said) in everything connected with his election, the notification to the Holy See, his consecration, &c. In fact, the Pope would feel that he was quite an upholder of the authority of the Catholic Church in the Netherlands, if the slight differences could be arranged. He then appointed a time for another conference, which he hoped would be definitive.

Second
conference.

“6. At the second conference Capaccini began by again praising Van Santen as a person of extreme ‘regularity’ and prudence. He then went on to say that all the differences between the Jansenists and the See of Rome might be reduced to one small point, one little thing about which a person of such prudence and regularity as the Archbishop could, of course, make no difficulty. Van Santen perfectly understood what the Nuncio meant by the ‘one small point,’ and he said, ‘I see what you mean—the *Formulary*.’ To this Capaccini was obliged to assent: the ‘one small point’ was that which had been the ground of such bitter persecutions and cruel sufferings.

“The Archbishop of course refused to sign the prescribed formulary, although the Nuncio (who had been stopped in his flattering circumlocutions) pressed on him, ‘It is but a *form*; all that is asked is, that you will write your name on a slip of paper, and then all will be right.’ Van Santen replied indignantly, ‘A *form* has a meaning, and I cannot subscribe a document, and confirm it by the solemn obliga-

tion of an oath, unless I am certain in my conscience before God of the truth of that to which I put my name.' CHAP. XVIII.

"THE NUNCIO.—But you are bound in your conscience before God to acknowledge the authority of the holy Father; and as his Holiness assures you of the truth of the Formulary, that is sufficient to remove every scruple. Any doubt in your own mind is but a private opinion; while, on the other hand, you have the full authority of the Church both to *instruct* you that the Formulary states what is true, and to *require* you to acknowledge this undoubted fact. Second conference.

"ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—I have read the *Augustinus* of Jansenius more than once through; I *know* that the Five Propositions, as condemned, are not contained in that book: how can I then, as an honest man and a Christian, subscribe a declaration as true which denies a simple fact? I have to do with God and my conscience, even if the Pope and the whole Church should be misinformed. As they cannot alter a *fact*, so they can have no authority from God to require me to sign my name to a declaration which contradicts a fact.

"THE NUNCIO.—You see, M. Van Santen, that the table at which we are sitting is covered with a *green* cloth. Now, supposing that the father of a family were to prohibit his children absolutely from entering this room, or even looking into it,—well, but if one of the children were to look in through the key-hole, and were thus by disobedience to acquire the knowledge that the cloth on the table is *green*, how then would the case stand? If the father were to make out an inventory of the furniture in the room, and if he were (whether by mistake or design, it matters not,) to describe this *green* cloth as being *red*; and if he were, on the ground of his parental authority, to require each of his children, as relying on their father's information, to subscribe this inventory as perfectly correct, it would not be competent to the child who had *seen* the cloth to act upon the knowledge he had gained by disobedience, and to refuse to subscribe the statement in which its colour was said to be *red*. The father had a right to forbid his children to look into the room: he had also a right to prescribe to his children what they should sign; and no act of prior disobedience on the

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conference.

part of any of them could take away the obligation of unhesitating compliance.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—You have brought forward a curious illustration; but how would you apply it? and how would you vindicate, even in such a case, the subscription to a known untruth?

“CAPACCINI.—There is no untruth at all supposed in the case that I have put: the child is absolutely bound to believe his parent; and, as the only ground he could have for any scruple of conscience would be part of his sinful disobedience, he ought to say, ‘The command of God requires me to obey my father; I must therefore obey him in this point, which involves the sacrifice of my own opinion: and as I am bound, in duty to God, to declare my belief that the cloth is *red*, I may reasonably suppose that my eyes were mistaken when I saw it. Perhaps a sunbeam hindered me from seeing the colour correctly; or perhaps, in punishment for my disobedience, an optical illusion was sent to deceive me. Any of these considerations is enough to justify me fully in subscribing my full belief that the object is really *red*, and not *green*.’

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—But how do you apply the idea of *knowledge obtained through disobedience* to the question of fact involved in subscription to the Formula?

“CAPACCINI.—Listen, that I may instruct you. You are well aware that no theological virtue shines more brightly than *implicit obedience*; the Holy Scriptures, the fathers and doctors of the Church, and the practice of all the saints, so fully commend this virtue, that there is no need for me to insist on it, at least in conferring with you. Obedience would require that the work of Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*, should not be read, since it was condemned by the Bull of Pope Urban VIII., (*In eminenti*). Any knowledge, therefore, which any person now has of the contents of that book must have been obtained through a transgression of that obedience to which he was bound. No one can have a right to know what the book contains, any further than as relates to the condemned propositions, and that only from the Constitution that condemns them: you ought, therefore, as a submissive child,

not to insist on acting on the knowledge obtained through disobedience, but you should own with humility, that in reading the condemned book you *may* have been mistaken; nay, that you *must* have been mistaken—that God did not give you clear light when you were thus acting in presumption; so that all you have to do is to subscribe the Formulary purely and simply, and receive the blessing which will result from giving up your own will, and thus have the satisfaction of restoring the peace of the Church.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—If the peace of the Church be in question, why does the Pope break it on the ground of a mere question of fact? You have already described the subscription as a *form* merely; why then should such importance be attached to a *mere form*?

“CAPACCINI.—I have *argued* the point simply to satisfy your scruples, and the illustrations which I used had no other end. I cannot suppose that you will obstinately maintain your own private opinion, especially when you remember that so many wise and learned men are agreed that the Five Propositions *are* in Jansenius.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—I do not wish to set my judgment above that of others; I only ask, let the five condemned propositions be *shewn* me in Jansenius, and let it be shewn that they are there stated in the sense in which they were condemned; that is, *not* in the sense in which anything similar is found in the works of S. Augustine. You know the Formulary goes this length, and the Pope never professed to condemn S. Augustine, one of the fathers and doctors of the Church; and he could not condemn any propositions, if they are taken in an orthodox sense,—for instance, in that of S. Augustine.

“CAPACCINI.—It will not do for me to *argue* on points which only require simple submission: it is easy to misunderstand S. Augustine; and perhaps we should wander from the point if we were to inquire into his meaning on these deep subjects.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—But, with regard to the Formulary, it is necessary for me to examine what S. Augustine has written, and what is contained in Jansenius; for you call on me to declare solemnly that Jansenius has mis-

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Second
conference.

represented the doctrine of S. Augustine. How can I declare this, if I do not know *what* the doctrine is, and *whether* it has been misrepresented or not?

“CAPACCINI.—Surely we may compose this slight difference: it is only by drawing refined distinctions of the sense in which words are taken that you can object to subscribe. You do not know how earnest is the good-will and sympathy of the holy Father towards you; his paternal heart longs to welcome you as a returning child: surely you may believe him when he assures you that the meaning of certain propositions is that which the Church has defined them to be. You do not know in what favour many of your sentiments are with the Pope: for instance, the Church has never rejected the doctrine of *efficacious grace*, which you esteem so highly; while this is not condemned, you see how everything may be adjusted by merely your name being affixed to a form: a drop of ink and a few seconds will put all right. This is all that the holy Father asks.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—Am I then to understand that his Holiness asks, that in a solemn oath I should call God to witness that I do believe what I do not believe; what the Pope *knows* that I do not believe; what ALMIGHTY God, the Searcher of hearts, knows that I do not believe? Is Catholic unity to be maintained by *perjury*—an awful sin before both God and man? And do you mean to say that if I knowingly commit this crime, it will be what the Pope desires and demands?

“CAPACCINI.—The holy Father only requires that from you which lies in the province of his authority. When the Church instructs you *what* to believe, you are *bound* to silence all trifling scruples.

“ARCHBISHOP VAN SANTEN.—I cannot conceal my indignation at your endeavours to make me declare, in the presence of ALMIGHTY God, that I do believe a point that I do NOT believe: my conscience is subject to Him, and, by His aid, I will act in His fear. I must continue to refuse to put my name to a Formulary which I reject; my hand must not contradict my heart.”

7. In the course of the same year the *Déclaration des*

Evêques de Hollande was printed, and, as we have seen, widely circulated, and served to re-direct the attention of Europe to that suffering Church. The Belgian revolution produced no effect on the position of Utrecht, and the course of events was only interrupted by the death, on the 25th of June, 1841, of Bishop Bon, of Haarlem, the only one among his brethren who had escaped Papal excommunication. The Chapter, bearing in mind the reprimand of 1814,—“If you had asked you would not have been refused,”—applied to the Government for license to proceed to an election. This leave was denied. For two years, by a wretched manœuvre, the clergy were kept in suspense. When the bishops waited on the Minister, they were informed that he could do nothing without the King; when they went to the King, his Majesty had referred the matter to the Minister. Speculation was evidently engaged on the age and infirmities of the two bishops, and the possible extinction of Jansenism. At length, finding that he was being simply trifled with, the Archbishop nominated Henry John Bul, priest at Audersen, to the vacant see, and consecrated him—“*invito rege et ministris*,” were the Archbishop’s own words to me—on the 10th of May, 1843; and hence only a common week-day was chosen for the solemnity. Then began another species of vexatious persecution. The Government, though acquainted with this consecration on the very day it took place, completely ignored the new bishop. All notices regarding the diocese of Haarlem were sent to the Archbishop; then, returned by him with the intimation that the diocese had its own ordinary, were despatched through the medium of the local administration. An interpellation in the Second Chamber (June 19, 1845)

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The Dé-
clara-
tion des
Evêques
de Hol-
lande.

Conse-
cra-
tion of
Bishop van
Bul.

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was the means of bringing to pass the official recognition of Bishop Van Buul; Thorbecke, afterwards minister, then a member of the Chamber, having clearly proved that the recognition of the Bishop of Haarlem was likewise a recognition of the National Church.

Statistics
of the
Roman
Church in
Holland.

8. We must now give a glance at the condition of the Roman Church in Holland since its complete toleration. A Concordat had been concluded in 1827, but was not ratified till the accession of William II. in 1841. In 1847 the mission of Holland, under the presidency of Monsignor Ferrieri, contained four Vicariates-Apostolic,—Holland, Bois-le-duc, Limburg, and Breda, with five bishops, all *in partibus*, five seminaries, 1,094 churches and chapels, 1,539 priests, 1,171,910 Catholics. The total strength of every sect of Protestantism amounted but to 1,854,515. The Calvinism of Holland, with its Orthodoxo-Orthodox, Schottians, Liberals, Pietists,—to say nothing of its Voetians and Koallenbruggians, its Lutheranism, its Remonstrantism, its Mennonism,—all are alike doomed. It needs no prophetic power to foretell that the commencement of the next century will see Holland a Roman Catholic country.

Proposals
for a new
hierarchy.

9. It was natural that this powerful body should be eager for diocesan superintendence. The agitation respecting the Papal aggression had hardly subsided in England when it commenced in Holland. As early as the 9th of December, 1851, the Internuncio at the Hague, Monsignor Belgrado^b, addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he enquired if the Government would offer any opposition to the

^b Handelingen, i. 152.

establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy. The reply was in the negative, provided the Concordats of 1827 and 1841, being overridden in one point, should be held annulled in all; and that the Government of Holland, in surrendering its rights, should be relieved from its responsibilities. A lengthened correspondence ensued on the subject; difficulties were gradually smoothed down, though a very strong feeling sprang up in the country against the proposed change; and at length, on the 4th of March, 1853, the Bull *Ex quâ die* established the new hierarchy. It constituted, or reconstituted, Utrecht the metropolitical see of the province of Holland, and raised Haarlem, Bois-le-duc, Breda, and Roermonde to the dignity of suffragan sees. The reader will remember that, by the Bull *Super Universas*, Bois-le-duc and Roermonde had been made suffragans to Mechlin; Breda was a new see. The diocese of Utrecht was to contain the province of that name, and those of Groningen, Guelderland, Friesland, and Drenthe; to that of Haarlem were annexed Holland and Zeeland; Zwijssen, Bishop of Gerra *in partibus*, and Vicar-Apostolic of Bois-le-duc, was raised to the see of Utrecht, retaining for the present Bois-le-duc also; Van Vree, President of the Seminary at Warmond, was made Bishop of Haarlem; Van Hooydonk, Bishop of Dardania *in partibus*, heretofore Vicar-Apostolic of Holland, was made Bishop of Breda, and Panedis of Roermonde. The hierarchy was announced by Pius IX. in the secret consistory of March 7.

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Establish-
ment of
the new
hierarchy
by the *Ex
quâ die*.

10. The passage in the *Ex quâ die*, in which the National Church is mentioned, runs as follows:—

“The pastors having thus”—i. e. by the outbreak of the Reformation—“been cast out, persecuted, or slain, Gregory

Its refer-
ence to
Sasbold
Vosmeer.

CHAP. XVIII. XIII., of glorious memory, deputed, as Vicar-Apostolic, for the gathering together of the remains of the dispersed flock, Sasbold Vosmeer, who afterwards, raised by Clement VIII. to the dignity of Archbishop of Philippi, when he had obtained no small number of holy labourers^c from the best institutions, and the Regular Orders, set his hand to the restoration of ruined religion, and, by God's help, not without good success. The same care was manifested by his successors, the Roman Pontiffs; as Alexander VII., who, when the Jansenian schism commenced, ceased not manfully to oppose that MONSTER and PEST, and to restrain and break its violence; also Innocent XII., Clement XI., Benedict XIII. and XIV.," &c., &c.

Indigna-
tion in the
country.

11. On the receipt of the Bull in Holland, the popular indignation resembled that of England during the "Papal aggression." Petition after petition was poured in; interpellation after interpellation made in the Chambers, and the ministry, who had not seen the allocutions or apostolical letters, were dismayed at some of the expressions they contained. "We should," writes De Zuylen de Nyevelt, then foreign minister, "have strongly dissuaded the erection of an archiepiscopal see in a city remarkable for the intolerance of its inhabitants. We should have pointed out the danger of representing the re-establishment of the episcopate as a necessary consequence of the progress of Catholicism in the Netherlands, and of connecting this measure with the state of the country in the sixteenth century." The remark about Utrecht was not without foundation. I have been told that, in the ferment occasioned by the Papal Bull, the Bishop of Glasgow happened to be visiting that city, and to wear his usual episcopal dress, when he was mobbed as a member of the intruded hierarchy, and obliged

^c Compare this with Sasbold's own account, pp. 126—129.

to take refuge in a house. The Thorbecke ministry fell ; the Chambers were dissolved ; and gradually the new hierarchy became a *fait accompli*. Modifications in practice were, however, introduced : Bishop Zwijssen continued, for example, his residence at Bois-le-duc, and thus popular feeling was allayed.

12. With the intrigues of cabinets and the ferment of popular Protestantism my history has nothing to do. The calm protest of the national bishops against the intrusion on themselves, the only really injured party, affords a refreshing contrast to both. The *Ex quâ die* is dated on the 4th of March, 1853. Bishop Vet, of Deventer, died on the 7th of the same month, and in the following August Archbishop Van Santen and Bishop Van Buul issued a protest against the new hierarchy. I had, while negotiations were pending, enquired of the Archbishop what steps would be pursued, were the contemplated aggression carried out. His reply was as follows :—

Protest of
the Arch-
bishop of
Utrecht,
and Bishop
of Haar-
lem.

“ We also have heard some uncertain rumours with respect to a Concordat into which the Pope and King are about to enter, and the creation of new bishops. But the public prints disagree very widely as to its nature. The Pope, or rather the Roman Court, will never acknowledge us unless we yield a blind obedience, which God of His grace forbid that we should ever pay. But whatever the Pope and the King may do as regards the Dutch Missionary Church, we shall not consider it any especial business of ours. Only, if new Bishops of Haarlem and Utrecht are appointed, we shall publicly protest both to the Pope and to the King. This may suffice to set your mind, and that of your friends, at rest as regards our position.”

13. The protest thus commences :—

“ By the public journals we have, among others, received

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Protest
against the
Ex quâ die.

notice of the Apostolic Letter *Ex quâ die*, published on the 4th of March in the present year, by which a Catholic hierarchy is instituted in this country.

“If the sees of Utrecht and Haarlem had not been included in this arrangement, we should have felt at liberty, the state of our affairs being as it is, to hold our peace, and to commit, in silent prayer, the whole matter to the Divine Governor of the Church.

“But since that letter arbitrarily disposes of those Churches, to the government of which we, although unworthy, have been called by Divine Providence, and legitimately consecrated according to the rules of Catholic discipline, as the Holy See was at the time duly informed, now it would be a sin to hold silence; now to speak—candidly and openly to speak—is a duty no less necessary than unpleasant.”

Quota-
tions.

14. They proceed to a brief narrative of the history of their Church, and quote the See of Rome itself as the witness against Papal usurpation. They cite S. Leo, “*Privilegia ecclesiarum—quanto magis*,” (they justly observe,) “*jura nativa—nullâ possunt impietate divelli, nullâ novitate violari*.” They adduce S. Bernard: “*Monstrum facis, si manui submovens digitum facis pendere de capite superiorem manui, brachio colateralem: tale est, si in Corpore CHRISTI membra aliter locas quam disposuit ipse*.” They shew that their cause ought to have been heard on the spot, and quote the Bishops of Africa to Pope Celestin: “*Pudentissime et justissime providerunt (Canones Nicæni) quæcunque negotia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, finienda*.” They shew that no charges were made, no witnesses adduced; the calumnies of the Jesuits were heard alone; and hence the appeal to the Future Council of May 9 and July 18, 1719.

15. They next point out the various mis-statements of the Papal Bull as respects Sasbold Vosmeer, the total

inaccuracy of which, except as regards the high character attributed to Vosmeer, they most clearly evince. C H A P.
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So far from the fact corresponding with the statement, that the priests were ejected, punished, or slain, they shew on Sasbold's own testimony that six hundred still remained at their posts when he first came into Holland.

The paragraphs which treat of the help he received from the Regulars shall be quoted entire :— Sasbold
Vosmeer
and the
Regulars.

“But the following passage in the Apostolic Letter has wounded us, holy Father, more deeply than anything besides: ‘Sasbold Vosmeer obtained no small number of holy labourers from the best institutions and the Regular Orders, and set his hand to the restoration of ruined religion, and, by God’s help, not without good success.’ Perhaps, after what had been said above, it was necessary to add this sentence, lest, since the pastors had partly been ejected, partly punished, partly slain, Sasbold alone should seem unequal to so great a work: but history blushes and grieves that truth should be so impudently despised and ridiculed.

“The want which is said to have existed between the promotion of Sasbold and the arrival of the missionaries in these lands is a mere figment; and the number of the latter, when it is said to have been ‘not small,’ is beyond measure exaggerated. Sasbold, whenever he mentions them in his letters, speaks of them as *some*, or *certain*, religious. Through the whole time of his episcopate their number never exceeded a tenth of the clergy. Whether they were ‘chosen out of the best institutions and Regular Societies,’ we had rather not decide, although we cannot so make out from the memoirs of that time, we envy the praises of none. But the laudations bestowed on those religious who then were sent into this country, on account of their salutary labours for the restoration of ruined religion, recall to our minds these sayings of Sasbold:—‘I understand that these religious,’ of the Society of JESUS, ‘have written much of their labour, and its fruit; all which things I simply assert to be false, and invented in opposition to that which they know to be true.

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I would not that the Pontiff should be deceived or the Church deluded with false relations.' That which he had written in this letter (May 22, 1610) to his agent at Rome, Gravius, the same, twelve years previously, he had written to the Archduke Albert, with respect to the machinations of the same religious :—' And further, for the accrediting of their own name, they ascribe to themselves the acts of others—they exaggerate trifles—they transmit everything to their own members, by whom they are disseminated through the whole world.'—' Let them say what they will,' so he writes in another letter to Gravius, April 13, 1609, ' the thing is as I write: the denial of their own faults, and the imputation of them to others, is to them a trifle.' When such testimonies speak, it is easier to extol those religious than—at least among men of learning—to procure credence in extolling them. We, holy Father, attribute, as regards this affair, greater weight to the testimony of Sasbold, whom we cite the more willingly, because, in the judgment of the Bull *Ex quâ die*, his authority cannot be suspected. His sentiments on monastic orders in general, and the Jesuits in particular, are abundantly manifest from the complaints which occur everywhere in his letters :—' I have wished more than once that all the Mendicants could be recalled to their monasteries,' (to Tilman, March 9, 1588); ' In the meanwhile I wish that all the Regulars could be immediately recalled hence,' (to the same, July 24, 1599); ' I could wish that they,' the Jesuits, ' had never come hither, because they hinder more good than they perform; and I remain in my opinion, that I had rather they were absent than left here,' (to Gravius, April 4, 1609); ' Would that they,' the Jesuits, ' had never come into our country,' (to Cardinal Mellini, Aug. 17, 1613). Is it credible, holy Father, that Sasbold should, through five-and-twenty years, have reiterated the same complaints against the missionaries, if they had been his faithful coadjutors and sincere labourers in the vineyard of the LORD?"

16. They proceed to quote several more passages of a similar tendency; but these may amply suffice to demonstrate the utter untruth of the statements of the

Ex quâ die. But it will not be amiss to give the accounts of two Ultramontane writers in parallel columns:—

CHAR.
XVIII.

The writer of the Bull

Ex quâ die.

“Hinc ejectis, percussisque, vel occisis pastoribus, ad colligendas dispersi gregis reliquias cla. me. Gregorius XIII. probatissimum virum, et zelo divini nominis inflammatum, videlicet Sasboldum Vosmeerum, in Vicarium suum Apostolicum deputavit, qui . . . cum non exiguam obtinuisset sacrorum operariorum copiam ex optimis institutis, et societatibus regularibus, ad collapsam religionem instaurandam, Deo juvante, non sine fausto successu adlaboravit.”

Dom Pitra. (*La Hollande Catholique*, p. 225.)

The *Ex quâ die* and *La Hollande Catholique*.

“Il avait été à la fois disciple des Jésuites, correspondant de Bellarmin, commensal et disciple de Michel Baius. Personnage à double face, il finit pas ne plus montrer que la plus laide. Il vécut et mourut avec cette idée de plus en plus dominante, qu’il fallait combattre le développement des réguliers dans la Hollande, paralyser leurs efforts, troubler leurs missions, et sur les ruines de leurs établissements, créer des pastorats séculiers.”

Can the force of self-contradiction go further?

17. The Epistle to Pius IX. ends as follows:—

“We ought not to fear that your Holiness should take these remarks ill. Every one of a generous spirit must sympathize with that saying of the great Cyprian: ‘We are not conquered, but instructed, when something better is set before us, especially in those matters which pertain to the unity of the Church, and the verity of our hope and faith.’ For us, Holy Father, God is our record, if we have expressed ourselves too boldly, that we desire to detract nothing from the dignity of the Holy See, which, as sincere Catholics, we honour and reverence. We have only said as much—God grant it may have been enough!—as seemed necessary to truth and to the maintenance of our rights; and this one thing we asked, that, with the wisdom given you from on high, you would examine our cause, Holy Father, in the balance of truth; and if it shall be found just, that to you, the chief Pontiff, may be reserved the glory of giving a righteous and

Conclusion of the protest.

C H A P. desired peace to our Churches—long, too long, vexed and
 XVIII. troubled.

“We subscribe, with great veneration,

“Your Holiness’s most humble servants,

✠ JOHN VAN SANTEN, Archbishop of Utrecht.

“*Utrecht, Aug. 9, 1853.*

✠ HENRY JOHN VAN BUUL, Bishop of Haarlem.

“*Amsterdam, Aug. 10, 1853.*”

Protest
 against the
 Bull *In-*
effabilis.

18. I am not called on to relate the sorrowful event of December, 1854, which seemed to put Catholic unity further off than ever; or to comment on that second and worse *Unigenitus*, the Bull *Ineffabilis*. Herman Heykamp having been raised to the see of Deventer in the March of that year, joined his brethren in a protest against the new doctrine; issued somewhat late, indeed, but well worthy of translation here:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,—The year of the Incarnation, eighteen hundred and fifty-four, the sixth of the Ides of December, in the church of S. Peter, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our SAVIOUR, was solemnly promulgated by your Holiness, as a dogma of the Christian faith. It is impossible to say how much such an event has astonished us; much more, has afflicted us. We might, perhaps, have been reproached for not having sooner made known our sentiments regarding so prodigious an occurrence. The sincere faith of the Church of Utrecht is sufficiently well known in the Catholic world. True Catholics have therefore certainly concluded that she rejected without hesitation the new and false dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary. But our Church has not considered this good opinion of her faith a sufficient reason for not publicly manifesting her opposition to the new dogma. We owe to our dignity, to the Catholic faith, to the defenders of the truth, its open rejection. This is why we should think we had failed in our duty if we longer kept silence.

“The integrity of the faith in which we have been instructed from our earliest years does not allow us to be silent.

The charge which has been entrusted to us, notwithstanding our unworthiness, imposes a very grave obligation upon us, that of openly professing our belief upon the fact in question. We are, indeed, persuaded that the sacred deposit of the faith can neither be augmented nor diminished. In our office of Bishops of the Catholic Church, we have been charged to preserve in tact that deposit. ‘Keep that which is committed to thy trust,’ wrote S. Paul to his disciple Timothy, (1 Tim. vi. 20). S. Vincent of Lérins did not think that this was only written for Timothy; all those who should succeed him, by the very fact that they are bishops, ought to receive this commandment as written for them.

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Bull *In-*
effabilis.

“Now, the opinion which you have promulgated of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, Mother of our SAVIOUR, would add to the faith. In fact, before the eleventh century of the Christian era, no such prerogative was anywhere recognised as belonging to the Blessed Virgin. If we turn either to the Eastern or the Western Church, and interrogate these two parts of the Catholic world upon their faith, we cannot find in either of them the slightest trace of this opinion before the time we have mentioned. If we appeal to the writings of the sovereign pontiffs your predecessors, we are convinced that they did not hold this opinion before the century above-mentioned; still further, it would not be difficult for us to quote some words of the sovereign pontiffs which are contrary to it. Let us only point out Innocent III., Innocent V., and Clement VI. It would be equally easy for us to cite some clear passages of Holy Scripture diametrically opposed to this new opinion. We can gain nothing, then, from the two sources of the Divine Word in favour of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, Mother of God. Therefore, to preserve this deposit as much as in us lies, we raise our voices, and we say that the said doctrine carries on its face the mark of novelty. This is the first and important reason which our judgment induces us to put forth.

“The Bishops of the Catholic Church have not been allowed to be judges of this doctrine; and this is the second complaint we have to address to your Holiness. To the Bishops, in short, belongs the right to judge. No notice has been taken of this

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right attached to the episcopal character. The whole order of Bishops has not been asked its sentiments touching the opinion in question. The letters of those which have been addressed to Rome are only particular writings; the voice of their Churches has not been heard. Now it is certain that the right of judging is inherent in the episcopate. The Council of Jerusalem, the first and the model of all councils, proves the prerogative. For when S. Peter, the first of the apostles, had spoken, S. James rose, and said, 'My sentence is,' (Acts xv. 19). Those Bishops, successors and vicars of the apostles, who have heard you, by yourself, proclaiming a new dogma of faith, have they safely kept their right? No, indeed, they have only been silent witnesses or contemptible flatterers. How the episcopal dignity was disgraced in this gathering, illustrious in appearance! No one came forward as the courageous guardian of his order. Without wishing to fail in the respect which is due to you, we will tell you the truth, most holy Father! To raise the head higher than was right, the most illustrious members of the body have been humbled. Thanks be to God, we have not yet forgotten our dignity, and we complain to you of the injury which has been done to it.

"*The love of our Church*: this is the third reason which obliges us to reject publicly the false dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin. This love demands that we should take the greatest care to preserve our Church free from error. Through the grace of God, the faith has been preserved there pure, notwithstanding the events which have too often shaken it in our country. We have therefore thought that it was our duty to put far from her all novelty in that which regards articles of faith. After the confusion introduced, three years since, in the hierarchical order, the integrity of the Catholic faith might have been threatened. Our intention is to ensure ourselves from this danger; and we ought to use all our efforts to present our Church to CHRIST as a chaste virgin. Our duty is to transmit to posterity the ancient faith, in its simplicity and purity, as we have received it from our predecessors. Removed from all novelty, as friends of antiquity, we distinguish by this, with Tertullian, the true doctrine from the false,—'That comes

evidently from the LORD, and is true, which has been from the beginning ; but that is strange and false, which has been added in the course of time.' (*Præscript. c. 31.*) The Apostle of the Gentiles has warned us not less than Timothy, 'avoiding profane and vain babblings (1 Timothy vi. 20) ; *babblings*, that is to say, novelties of dogmas, of things, of sentiments, which are contrary to truth and to antiquity ; if these are admitted, the faith of the holy fathers must be violated in everything, or at least in a great measure.' Thus speaks S. Vincent of Lérins.

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Protest
against the
Bull *In-
effabilis.*

"About two centuries ago, the ambassador of Philip IV., king of Spain, asked, in the name of his master, your predecessor, Alexander VII., a decision on the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin. This Pope wished to know if he could decide the question, and he interrogated Cardinal Bona on this subject. The pious and learned Cardinal replied to him, that neither the Holy See nor the Church herself could make new articles of faith, but that they could only *declare* what God had revealed to His Church, after having examined, according to rule, the traditions transmitted from the apostles. 'Could I not,' replied the Pope, 'under the inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT, decide what we ought to believe on this point?' 'Most holy Father,' said Bona, 'that which might be divinely discovered to you, could only serve for you, and it would not be permitted you to oblige the faithful, any more than myself, to adhere to your decision.' Would to God that a procedure so wise and so catholic had been followed by all the successors of S. Peter !

"We have thought it a matter of honour and duty to offer to your Holiness the pastoral instruction which we have joined to this letter. In order that it may be better and more clearly known in our dioceses what Catholics ought to believe regarding the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, we have published it for the Dutch in the language of our country.

"Our Church has often appealed to the Future Ecumenical Council that shall be legitimately assembled. It appears necessary to us to renew that appeal. On account of the violation which this deposit of the faith has suffered, and because of the injury which has been done to the episcopal

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order, when it has been desired to establish, as a dogma revealed from God, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our SAVIOUR, we reserve to ourselves the right to make our appeal in time and place fitting. May the FATHER of lights give to our hearts enlightened eyes, and may He work in us that which pleases Him !

“ We have signed with veneration,

“ Most Holy Father,

“ The most humble servants of your Holiness,

“ ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Utrecht ; (Van Santen).

“ ✠ HENRY JOHN, Bishop of Haarlem ; (Van Buul).

“ ✠ HERMANN, Bishop of Deventer ; (Heykamp).

“ Given at Utrecht, the 18 of the Calends of Sept., 1856.

“ The Secretary-General,

“ HENRI LOOS.”

Principal
writers of
the sepa-
rated
Church of
Holland.

19. Before concluding, it may not be amiss that I should briefly notice a few of the most eminent writers of the Church of Holland since the separation. Of Hugh van Heussen, John Christian van Erkel, Nicolas Broedersen, and Willebrord Kemp, I have spoken at length. Pennaert, pastor first at Ameland, then at Egmond, and finally at Enkhuizen, also distinguished himself by his writings in defence of the National Church. Boebereel, pastor at Rotterdam, was the author of an excellent commentary on the Epistles and Gospels of the Liturgy, under the title of *Christelijke Vader*. Bessemers, pastor at Gouda, published a translation of the Missal, with annotations. Berveilingh, pastor at Amsterdam, was especially celebrated for his sermons. Legros, the greater part of whose Commentary on Holy Scripture still remains MS. Verhulst, one of the ablest polemics of the eighteenth century, and especially celebrated for his letters to David Pierman under the title of Ph. Vlaming. Diloent, the author of several controversial works ; and Laplat, a canonist of no mean reputation. Nor must I forget

to mention the excellent translation of the whole Bible, by A. van der Schuur and H. van Rhijn. C H A P.
XVIII.

20. And thus I end the Annals of the Church of Utrecht. It is impossible to close my task without wishing for the knowledge of a prophet as to the future fate of that communion. That since the first breaking out of the schism it has dwindled excessively cannot be denied. Thus, the clergy who upheld Codde amounted to 300 ; in 1736, seventy-four priests held with the National Church. At the present moment there are not more than 30. But this is not a fair way of looking at the decrease. We know that, in the archpresbytery of Utrecht, there are now more baptisms, nearly by one-fifth, than there were in 1763. We must therefore conclude that the number of souls has increased in the same proportion ; and there is the same increase in the other parts of that Church. Yet that archpresbytery contained in 1763, ten parishes ; it has now only seven. The decrease of the clergy, therefore, is not to be taken as a measure of the decrease of the faithful. Besides, however, diminished numbers, the Church of Utrecht has had to contend with injury and robbery. Up to 1723 she had two colleges at Louvain—the one for the diocese of Utrecht, the other for that of Haarlem. When the Chapter of the last-named see had resolved to exercise no jurisdiction, the affairs of their college fell, naturally enough, into disorder. Steenoven, when Vicar-General, asserted the claims of the National Church to this college. Not only, after a tedious litigation, was the college of Haarlem lost, but that of Utrecht was also wrested from the clergy. Up to 1762 the Church of Utrecht had a small college at Vianen, and a congregation. In consequence of the reception of a young Protestant into its communion there, the college

Statistics
of the
National
Church.

Colleges at
Louvain

and Vi-
anen.

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and congregation were alike quashed. The progress of Amersfoort, however, made up for these losses. The system of education is excellent; the presidents have been able men, and a succession of excellent priests has been turned out from that institution. It is only wonderful, if we consider how easily any priest could avoid rebuke, and meet with reward and praise, how easily any congregation could avenge itself for a fancied neglect by joining the communion of Rome, how jealousy on election to the episcopate might naturally tend to such a termination, that so few have left, that so many remain. In 1760, one Burges at Amsterdam sold himself, his congregation, and his church to the Papal communion, on promise of a rich living. The civil courts interfered, and restored the building to its legitimate possessors. But such an event has not often happened. The numbers, then, at present remain almost stationary. Scarcely any member of the National Church is lost to the Papal communion, except by mixed marriages; and these losses are supplied by occasional conversions from Protestantism. And there are not wanting instances of women who, having married into Brabant, or Belgian Flanders, or even Limburg, come up every year for their Easter confession and their Easter Communion to the Church of their baptism.

Mixed
marriages.

Con-
elusion.

21. It seems to me that the little remnant of this afflicted Church are reserved for happier days. Wherever and whenever that Œcumenical Council may be, or whatever other means God shall employ to restore the lost unity of Christendom, the labours, and trials, and sufferings of this communion will not be forgotten. Marvellously raised up as she was when human help seemed at an end, marvellously preserved through five years of extreme danger in the present

century, her existence once hanging on the steadiness of the gripe by which a drowning prelate was held above water, she can scarcely have been thus maintained that her end should be without honour, that she should dwindle and dwindle till her last spark is extinguished. She can scarcely have been held up, from her protest against the *Unigenitus*, till she has also protested against the more dangerous *Ineffabilis*, that, after these struggles for the truth, she may be permitted to fall. Surely not for this did Steenoven, and Van Erkel, and Broedersen, and Van Heussen, and Mcindaerts write, and strive, and suffer; surely not for this has the steadfast piety that has distinguished this communion for a century and a half, sent up so many earnest prayers to the Supreme Judge to vindicate its innocence, and make known the righteousness of its cause. As I lay down my pen, I cannot but hear the words, once the comfort of another suffering Church, now addressed to this:—

“I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept My word, and hast not denied My Name.

“Because thou hast kept the word of My patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

“Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.”

APPENDICES.

1. LIST of Historical Works on the Church of Utrecht.
2. That Sasbold Vosmeer and his Successors were Diocesan Archbishops, and not simply Vicars-Apostolic.
3. That the Vicariate of Utrecht was and is the True Chapter.
4. Statistical Tables :—
 - a. List of Archbishops and Bishops since the Schism.
 - β. List of Cures in 1736 and 1853.
 - γ. List of Baptisms in the Archdiocese.
 - δ. List of Deans : and the present Chapter.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF HISTORICAL WORKS ON THE CHURCH OF UTRECHT.

THE principal authorities, printed and MS., for the history of the Church of Holland, are the following. A great part of the former are given in the *Recueil des Témoignages*, (C. No. 12): that list is reprinted, with additions, in the third edition of the *Histoire Abrégée*, (A. No. 4); and the present catalogue is still fuller. The MS. authorities are here enumerated for the first time. An asterisk denotes those books which were composed by enemies; a † those of the greatest importance.

A.

GENERAL HISTORY.

- † 1. *Batavia Sacra: sive res gestæ Apostolicorum Virorum qui fidem Bataviæ primi intulerunt. Omnia industriâ et studio* T. S. F. H. L. H. S. T. L. P. V. T. Bruxellis, 1714. One volume, folio.
- † 2. *Historia Episcopatum Fœderati Belgii.* Per H. F. V. H. Sac. T. L. Vic. Tr. Antwerpiae et Ultrajecti. 1 edit. 1719, 2 ed. 1755. Two volumes, folio.—Both these works are by Hugh van Heussen, Dean of the Cathedral Chapter, and Vicar-General. He was the first on the list of four whom the clergy proposed to the See of Rome on the death of Neercassel, but was passed over through the influence of the Ultramontane party. The *Batavia Sacra* contains, in the first place, a general history of the Church of Utrecht from the beginning; in the next, a *catalogue raisonné* of all the parishes in the archdiocese, and the diocese of Haarlem; with the succession, as far as known, of their incumbents. The *Historia Episcopatum* gives Utrecht in less detail, but contains, in addition to Haarlem, the four other suffragan sees,—Deventer, Leeuwarden, Groningen, and Middelburg. The

research and patient labour bestowed on these works render them invaluable. They were united, and translated in

3. *Kerkelijke Historie en Outheden der Zeven Vereenigde Provinciën, &c., &c., overgeset en met Aantekeningen opgeheldert door H. V. R. [Henricus Van Rhijn.]* Leyden, 1726. Six parts, bound in three immense folio volumes. Another edition, in octavo, 1765, contains very large and useful additions to Van Heussen's work. All three have excellent engravings of the worthies whom they commemorate.
- † 4. *Histoire abrégée de l'Église Métropolitaine d'Utrecht, par M. G. Dupac de Bellegarde, ancien Comte de Lyon.* Troisième Édition. Utrecht, J. A. van Woestenberg, 1852.—The first edition of this work was published in 1765; the next in 1770. Bellegarde left a MS. continuation, extending from 1763 to 1784, (which forms pp. 415—499). A new edition was undertaken by the Abbé Van der Hoeven, who proposed to carry it down to the present time. No one could have been better qualified for the task than this able young priest, who was minutely acquainted with the annals of his own Church, and whose laborious accuracy is amply attested by the care with which he had docketed the papers which he proposed to use, and which I have seen at Amersfoort. He died, however, the death of the righteous, after long-continued ill-health, Dec. 30, 1851, when only a few sheets were struck off, and the continuation was not attempted. The edition was superintended and the preface written by the Abbé Karsten, President of the College at Amersfoort. It is in all respects a most able and interesting work.
- * 5. *Historia de rebus Ecclesiæ Ultrajectensis a tempore mutatae religionis.* Coloniae et Bruxellis, 1725. A thin folio, the greater part taken up with dissertations. The author was M. Hoyneck van Papendrecht, canon of Mechlin, a bitter enemy of the Church of Utrecht. A brief catalogue of the mistakes and self-contradictions of this work takes up thirty-two pages of Broedersen's celebrated reply. There are two editions.
- * 6. *La Hollande Catholique.* Par le R. P. Dom Pitra. Paris, 1850. A small duodecimo, equally unworthy of the acknowledged learning, and of the good taste and Christian feelings, of the author. Some of the more important mistakes will be pointed out in the notes. The bad taste of the work is aggravated by the fact that Dom Pitra had unlimited access to the Archives, of which, however, he seems to have made but little use.

B.

WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SUSPENSION OF CODDE,
AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SCHISM.

- † 1. *Causa Coddæana*. 1705. This is a collection of the principal pieces which concern the summons of Codde to Rome, his detention there, and his suspension.
2. *L'Innocence du Clergé de Hollande defendue*. This is a free translation, with additional matter, of a Latin reply to a "Mémoire on the Progress of Jansenism in Holland," inserted in the *Causa Coddæana*. By Quesnel.
5. *Avis sincères aux Catholiques des Provinces Unies*. 1704. By the same.
6. *Divers abus et nullités du Décret de Rome du 4 Octobre*. 1707. By the same.
- † 7. *Declaratio Apologetica D. Petri Coddæi, Arch. Sebasteni*. 1707. This, which also appeared in French, is a calm and clear defence of the writer's proceedings, and produced a considerable effect.
8. *Defensio piæ Memoræ ill. ac rev. D. Coddæi*. 1711. A similar work, indeed all but a translation, appeared in French the same year. It was written by M. Petitpied.
- † 9. *Defensio Archiepiscopi Sebasteni, et Ecclesiæ quæ apud Batavos est Catholicæ*. Par J. C. Eekelium, Eccl. Metr. Capitularem, et Delflandiæ Archipresb. 1717.—Van Erkel was undoubtedly the most masterly writer on the side of the clergy. If he had not the prodigious acquaintance with the Archives of Utrecht that was possessed by Broedersen, he was at least as good a canonist, a much more able reasoner, and a far more interesting writer. This quarto of 173 pages is in reply to Theodore de Cock's mischievous and ungenerous attack on Codde after that prelate's death,—*De Petro Coddæo, &c., Vicariatus Apostolici potestate potito, functo, defuncto, Libri tres*.

C.

WORKS IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHAPTERS.

1. *Motivum juris pro Capitulo Harlemensi*. 1703. [Printed in Van Espen's works, vol. v. pp. 351—381.]
2. *Refutatio Responsi ad Motivum*. 1703. These are by Van Espen, but they were adopted by De Swaen, Dean of Haarlem.

3. *Assertio Juris Eccl. Metr. Ultrajectin. R. C. Per J. C. Erkelium, ejusdem Eccl. Canon.* 1703.
4. *Cleri R. C. præcipuarum in Hollandiâ Australi civitatum Protestatio.* 1709.
5. *Protestatio . . . asserta.* 1710.
6. *Protestatio . . . denuo asserta.* 1712.
7. *Protestatio . . . tertium asserta.* 1714.
8. *Mémoire pour l'Eglise et le Clergé d'Utrecht.* The first edition was published in 1716, and it was one of the most popular books on the side of the clergy. De Bellegarde ascribes it to M. Boule-
nois: but in the copy preserved in the Archives, Quesnel is
named as the author, in a hand which I believe to be Bishop
Van Stiphout's.
9. *Instrumentum Appellationis ad Futurum Generale Concilium
a Constitutione Unigenitus.* Delphis, 1719. This appeal was
composed by Van Heussen, though not published till after his
death. Besides the instrument itself, it contains the adhesions of
the clergy of Utrecht and Haarlem, and others.
10. *Justification du Droit des Chapitres.* By Quesnel.
11. *Responsio Epistolaris Z. B. Van Espen de numero Episcoporum
ad validam ordinationem requisito.* 1725. [Also in Van Espen's
works, tom. v. pp. 484—493.]
12. *Vindiciæ Resolutionis Doctorum Lovanensium . . . de Subsist-
entiâ Eccles. Ultraject., &c.* Amsterdam, 1727. [Also in Van
Espen's Works, tom. v. pp. 494—576.]
- † 13. *Defensio Eccl. Ultraject. . . contra fictiones.* A. D. C. P.
Hoyneck, per J. C. Erkelium. Amsterdam, 1728. This is the
masterpiece on the side of the Chapters, and is quoted in the pre-
ceding pages as *Defens. Eccles.*
14. *Considerationes ad VI. Epistolas D. Hoyneck. Per J. C. Erke-
lium.* Amsterdam, 1730. Verhulst wrote the sixth.

D.

WORKS IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS.

1. *Samen-spraak tusschen Pieter Regthart, en Joan Waermond.*
Five of these dialogues were published by Van Erkel. (1.) On
the right of the Church to elect a Bishop. Delft, 1722, pp. 64.
(2.) On the subject of elections generally, with an answer to ob-
jections. 1723, pp. 72, &c., &c.
- † 2. *Causa Ecclesiæ Ultrajectinæ.* 1724. Published by Van Erkel,
and contains, (1.) A Short History of the Church. (2.) The

- Consultation of Louvain, Dec. 12, 1722. (3.) The celebrated *Dissertatio de misero Ecclesiæ Trajectinæ Statu*. (4.) The letters of the Chapter to Innocent XIII., of June 11 and September 30, 1722; April 27, 1723; and August 1, 1724; and another of the same year to the Bishops, the Cardinals, the Deans and Chapters, and to the Universities. Also the reply to the circular of Spinelli, bearing date May 4, 1724. These various publications seem to me not to have been reprinted, but merely bound together, with a general title-page and the preface, the paging and lettering commencing afresh at the beginning of each document.
3. *Seconde Mémoire pour l'Église et le Clergé d'Utrecht*. 1725. This is by M. Boulenois, and is attributed to him by Bishop Stiphout, as well as De Bellegarde.
- † 4. *Kort Historisch Verhael van 't gene de Kerke van Utrecht wedevaren is*. Amsterdam, Nicolas Potgieter. These Annals appeared in nine duodecimo volumes, from 1725—1728, now bound in three. They were compiled by Willebrord Kemp, Canon of Utrecht, and pastor there, and contain a vast number of documents, though all translated into Dutch.
- † 5. *Première et Seconde Apologie de M. l'Evêque de Babylone*. Amsterdam, 1728, quarto, pp. 54 and 511. Of this magnificent refutation of Ultramontane tenets I have spoken at p. 247.
6. *Quinque Epistolæ Presbyteri Trajectensis de Consecratione Archiep. Traj. adversus Diss. D. Damen*. These are by Verhulst, and marked by his well-known ability.
7. *Antwoord op zekere Brief* (28 Mar., 1727,) &c. In defence of Barchman Wuytiers. Amsterdam, 1727.
8. *Causa Ecclesiæ Harlemensis*. 1728.
9. *Acta quædam Eccl. Ultraject.* The Hague, 1737. Quarto, pp. 176. Contains the proceedings connected with the consecration of Van der Croon, and his correspondence with the Archbishop of Mechlin.
- † 10. *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Katholyken*. 1. *Wegens het Formulier tegen Jansenius*. 2. *Wegens de Bulle Unigenitus*. 3. *Wegens het Aertsbisdom van Utrecht*. *Opgehelderd in xxii. Brieven tegen een Schrift van David Pierman*. Door Ph. Vlaming. Utrecht, 1741. They are by Verhulst, and created a great sensation at the time of their first appearance. The work is bound in 3 vols. 12mo., but the pages run on continuously to p. 1351.
11. *Lettres d'un Prêtre Français réfugié en Hollande*. 1751. By Vasquier, ex-Grand-Vicar of the diocese of Lectoure.
- † 12. *Recueil de divers témoignages de plusieurs cardinaux, arche-*

vêques, évêques, universités, facultés de Theologie et de Droit, docteurs, dignités d'églises cathedrales et collégiales, abbés, chanoines, curés, supérieurs d'ordres et de communautés, magistrats, jurisconsultes, et autres personnes célèbres, en faveur de la Catholicité et de la légitimité des droits du clergé et des chapitres, archevêques et évêques de l'Église Catholique des Provinces Unies contre le schisme introduit dans cette Église depuis le commencement de ce siècle par les manœuvres des Jésuites et de leurs adherents. Utrecht, 1763.

This 4to., of more than 400 pages, is the grand magazine for the historian, next to the Archives, of the letters of communion received by the Church of Utrecht. It was compiled and arranged by Dupac de Bellegarde.

† 13. *Acta et decreta secundæ synodi Provinciæ Ultrajectensis : in sacello Ecclesiæ Parochialis S. Gertrudis, Ultrajecti, celebratæ. Utrecht, 1764.* A preface of 62 pages is added, containing a brief history of the Church of Utrecht, by the editor, Dupac de Bellegarde. Two editions, in large 12mo. and 4to.

14. *Mémoire de quelques jurisconsultes Hollandais, sur les maximes Ultramontanes mises en usage pour opprimer l'église Metrop. d'Utrecht. Utrecht, 1764.* In German, Venice, 1782; and in Italian, Pistoia, 1785.

15. *Nouveaux Témoignages. Utrecht, 1769.*

16. *Lettre de M. l'Archevêque d'Utrecht, et de MM. les évêques de Haarlem et de Deventer, à M. l'Archevêque de Toulouse. Utrecht, 1774.* We have spoken of this letter, p. 330.

17. *Del cattolicismo della chiesa d'Utrecht, e delle altre chiese di Olanda appellante, o confutazione della Storia compendiosa dello scisma della nuova chiesa d'Utrecht, del Conte L. Mozzi. Milan, 1786; and in French, Paris, 1788 and 1796.* This is by M. Bossi, Canon of Milan, as well as the next.

18. *Lettere Ultrajectine, in reply to Count Mozzi's Delle rivoluzioni della chiesa d'Utrecht. Milan, 1788.*

† 19. *Déclaration des évêques de Hollande, adressée à toute l'Église Catholique, et acte d'Appel des Bulles d'excommunication lancées contre eux par Leon XII. Paris, 1827.* This contains, besides the Act of Appeal, published in Latin and French, (Haarlem, 1825,) a Historical Sketch of the Church of Holland, and the *Procès Verbal* of the elections of Bishop Vet and Archbishop Van Santen.

20. *Rome en Utrecht : of korte schets, van den oorsprung, voort en tegenwoordigen staat hunneer drie hoofdgeschillen. Door P. Buys.*

21. *Herderlijk onderrigh van H. J. van Buul, Bisschop van Haarlem, over die kerk scheuring onder de Katholijhen derer gewesten.* 1844. A French translation in the same year. Paris: Lebegue.
22. *De Regering en de Klerezy.* Amsterdam: Diedrichs, 1845.
- † 23. *Schets eener Geschiedenis van de Rooms-Katholyke oud bisschoppelijke Klerezy in Nederland.* Utrecht: J. A. van Woesten-
tenberg, 1853. A very able sketch, with the latest statistical information.
24. *Ill. et Revv. D.D. Johannis Van Santen, Arch. Ultraj., et Henrici Joannis Van Buul, Episc. Haarlem. Epistola ad S. Patrem Pium IX. de Literis Apostolicis, Ex quâ die. Mart. 4.* 1853. Utrecht, 1853.
25. *Een Woord van eenen zoogenaamden Jansenist over de woorden Monster en Pest in de Apostolische Breve van Z. H., Paus Pius IX.* Utrecht, 1853.

Of the other appeals I have given no list, as most of them will be found in some one or other of the works to which I have referred.

E.

MS. AUTHORITIES.

The greater part of the Archives are kept in the library attached to the church of S. Gertrude "*in den Hoek.*" Some of the documents, especially those relating to the period subsequent to the episcopate of Van Nieuwenhuisen, were removed to Amersfoort for the convenience of the editor, when the third edition of Bellegarde's History was being brought out. The greater part of the papers are admirably arranged and bound, and great pains have evidently been taken in their classification. The principal volumes are as under, mostly folio :—

Five of the letters written by Sasbold Vosmeer.

Eight of the letters addressed to Sasbold Vosmeer.

One of the letters addressed to Tilman Vosmeer.

One of the letters written by Philip Rovenius.

One of the letters addressed to Philip Rovenius.

One of letters to and from Jacques de la Torre.

One of the letters to and from Baldwin Catz and Zachary de Metz.

Ten of letters written by John Van Neercassel. (4to.)

Twelve of letters addressed to John van Neercassel.

Twelve of letters written by Peter Codde.

Three of letters addressed to Peter Codde.

Two (small) extracts addressed to Peter Codde while at Rome.

One, a diary of proceedings in his cause.

One, a diary kept by him at Rome.

Three, *Causa Coddæana*.

One, of letters to and from Cornelius Steenoven.

Those subsequently to this period are not yet arranged. Those above mentioned I have examined, and they are quoted in the course of the history.

The MS. authorities, from which the last portion of the History of the Church of Utrecht must be related, are mainly,—

1. A collection of documents relative to the endeavour after union under Archbishop van Nieuwenhuisen.
2. A collection of detached pieces, relative to the long vacancy of the see (1808-1814).
3. The correspondence of Archbishop van Os with the minister of Catholic worship, during the vacancy of the see of Haarlem (1814-1819).
4. A detailed account of the proceedings at the Hague in 1823, between the nuncio Nazalli, and the Bishops of Holland: written by Archbishop van Os and Bishop Bon.
5. The negotiations which passed between the Bishops of Holland and the nuncio Capaccini, at Brussels, in 1827, on occasion of the Concordat. These papers are, I believe, at Rotterdam.

APPENDIX II.

THAT SASBOLD VOSMEER AND HIS SUCCESSORS WERE TRUE AND DIOCESAN ARCHBISHOPS OF UTRECHT.

THIS point is of such vital importance to our history, that I must restate and amplify the arguments of the text. I said that the claim was proved :—

1. By the report which Vosmeer gives of the negotiations at the time, and long before any momentous consequences appeared to be attached to them.

The following extracts are to the point :—

Sasbold to Tilman Vosmeer, Jan 11, 1603 :—“Voluit me [sc. Papa] promovere titulo extraneo; sed dedit mihi populum S. Willebrordi, ut vere dici possim Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, et Ultrajectensis Archiepiscopus.”

The same to Gravius, June 6, 1609 :—“Nominavit me quidem Archidux ad Ultrajectensem Ecclesiam, et salutavit *Archivescovo de Utrecht*, attamen dedit clausas literas ad Sanctissimum, qui tempore ordinationis dixit mihi, se dare titulum Philippensis Ecclesiæ ne exacerbaret hæreticos, addens, *Quando placebit Archiduci tuo, poteris titulum mutare*. Verum hætenus, licet ab hæreticis habear et dicar Ultrajectensis, non assumpsi titulum Ultrajectensem.”

The same to the same, April 20, 1613 :—“Quod amplius R. T. extra ordinem, ut loquitur, scire desiderat, nimirum si Clemens VIII. aliquando N. Archiepisc. Ultrajectens. nominavit, respondeo ab eo dictum, quod sine ulteriore requisitione eo titulo uti possem, ubi Archiduci placuerit, quod idem dixit Cardin. Aldobrandinus. . . . Certe ab initio in his partibus omnibus ita acceptum, ipsumque nomen Philippensem non ad Macedoniæ civitatem sed ad Philippi Regis intentionem retulerunt. Ordines quoque Hollandiæ non aliter ab initio acceperunt et cum adhuc in viâ Romam essem, eo nomine proscripserunt. Abstini ab eo titulo penitus donec Archiducis ad Gubernatorem Transisulaniæ literæ, quæ simpliciter Arch. Ultrajectensem explicabant, subscriptiæ ab Archiduce, Richerdoto, et Verreyhen, in manus Hollandorum venirent.

2. By the fact that the States-General proceeded against him for assuming the title and exercising the office of Archbishop of Utrecht.

The placard issued May 30, 1602, runs thus:—"Et mox ad Archiducem in exercitum ad Ostendam se contulit, ubi cum eo et iis qui ei erant a Consiliis de harum statu Provinciam frequens habuit commercium, ab eoque nominationem ad Archiepiscopatum Ultrajectensem et Metropolitanatum super omnes Fœderati Belgii provincias petit et obtinuit."

This is one example of several, couched in almost the same terms.

3. That it was given to him without the least scruple or doubt by his enemies the Jesuits.

Gerard Contonnel, a Jesuit, (Sept. 18, 1613,) directs a letter,—
"Ill^{mo}. et Rev^{mo}. Dno. D. Sasboldo Archiepiscopo Ultrajectino dignissimo."

John Dulmen, a Jesuit, (March 10, 1613,)—"Ill^{mo}. et Rev^{mo}. Dno. D. Sasboldo Arch. Philippensi et Ultrajectensi."

Louis Makeblyd, a Jesuit, (Aug. 6, 1611,) directs his letter,—
"Ill^{mo}. et Rev^{mo}. Dno. Sasboldo, Arch. Ultraj. Coloniam."

These, again, are examples of many.

4. That Sasbold constantly assumed it himself, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with his other title of Philippi.

His usual title was as follows:—"Sasboldus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Philippensis et Ultrajectensis, nec non Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ eisdemque unitarum atque reductarum Transisulanæ Provinciarum Vicarius Apostolicus."

Broedersen and other national writers give this title as sufficient in itself to prove their point; but Hoyneck (p. 19) asserts that a comma ought to be placed after *Philippensis*, and none after *Ultrajectensis*; thus making the sense to be, Archbishop of Philippi, and Vicar-Apostolic of Utrecht and the recovered Provinces. This I thought, and had called, (*Christian Remembrancer*, 1851, p. 163,) a mere quibble: but on consulting the Archives, I found all the letters of *Rovenius* to Vosmeer (none else) studiously pointed so. D. Pitra says, (I know not on what authority,) that complaint was made at Rome of the title, and that Rovenius then invented the new interpretation. This is not very likely. However, as the inscription in question *may* bear Hoyneck's interpretation, (though I believe only intended as a blind to prevent offence to the States,) I will not lay any stress on it: there are plenty of examples without.

A monition to Lingen, dated April 20, 1612, begins,—"*Sasboldus, door de gratie Godes en des Stoels van Romen Aerd-bisschop van Philippen en van Utrecht, midsgaeders over Hol-*

landt, Zelandt," &c. Here the *Ultrajectensis* cannot refer to the *Vicarius*.

So, again, in a decree against certain matrimonial abuses in Overijssel, (Aug. 4, 1611): "Sasboldus, durch die genaede Gottes und des Stoels van Romen, Ert-bisschoff van Philippen und Utregt, mitsgaeders over Hollandt," &c.

These are not only decisive in themselves, but speak pretty clearly as to the meaning of the Latin documents. One of the latter, however, is so punctuated as to take away all ambiguity here also. It bears date Feb. 1, 1613, and is thus expressed:—"InsUPER NOS SASBOLDUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS PHILIPPENSIS ET ULTRAJECTENSIS nec non Unitarum Belgii Provinciarum Vicarius Apostolicus;" where the capitals are given as I have printed them here; and where, therefore, the *Ultrajectensis* cannot, by any possibility, belong to the *Vicarius*.

To these must be added the many documents in which Sasbold speaks of his ordinary jurisdiction; as, for example, in a deed of March, 1613, in which he unites two convents, S. Agnes at Emmerick, and S. Ursula at Neder-Elten. Here he speaks, as again and again, of "*our Ordinary and Apostolic jurisdiction*."

5. That the same title was given him by others.

The instances of this are innumerable. Take for examples:—Feb. 9, 1613. The Dean and Chapter of Cranenburg address him as the *Ultrajectinæ Sedis Præsul dignissimus*.

Wassenburg, in his history of Emmerick: "Anno insuper 12, promovente et urgente Sasboldo *Archiepiscopo Ultrajectino*, tum temporis Embricæ præsentē, clausuram . . . sero admodum, tamen cum applausu omnium admisit."

It must, however, be remembered that the denial of a true archiepiscopal character to Sasbold Vosmeer and to Rovenius is, comparatively speaking, a late Ultramontane fiction,—Hoyneck and D. Pitra being its principal advocates.

The earlier Ultramontanes and the Jesuits readily acknowledged them as true Archbishops of Utrecht, but affirmed—so gross was the ignorance then subsisting with regard to the secular power,—that when the treaty of Münster transferred the *de jure* sovereignty of the States to a Protestant power, thenceforth Diocesan bishops were at an end; because a Catholic ruler was an essential of diocesan episcopacy. If we compare Hoyneck and Pitra with Damen, Desirant, and writers of a similar stamp, it is impossible to avoid exclaiming with Broedersen, "*Sed non erat conveniens testimonium illorum*."

APPENDIX III.

THAT THE VICARIATE INSTITUTED BY ROVENIUS WAS AND IS THE TRUE METROPOLITICAL CHAPTER OF UTRECHT.

At p. 64 and p. 143 I have spoken of the constitution of the Chapter and of the Vicariate.

In 1622, when, of the 235 Canons and Vicars who composed the Five Chapters, of which the Metropolitan Chapter was composed, forty-five only were Catholics, the States of Utrecht enacted that none but Protestants should thereafter be nominated Canons.

Rovenius, to prevent the annihilation of his Church, chose seven of the existing Canons, added four priests whom he had intended to appoint in the months^a when he had the nomination, and constituted them a *Vicariate*, or Ecclesiastical Chapter of Utrecht.

Ultramontane writers have urged various objections against this constitution, and the point is a vital one. At the same time, that the arguments urged against the Vicariate are simply used as a convenient weapon, is clear from this. The Chapter of Haarlem existed and exists unchanged, yet Rome equally impugns its existence. Had the Vicariate never been formed, the Chapter of Utrecht would have been equally ignored.

It is said that Rovenius had no right arbitrarily to choose seven ecclesiastics out of forty-five, and call them a Chapter.

- But, 1. The greater part of the Catholic Canons were not in orders^b. They were appointed by the States, when, of course, the question of orders was not taken into consideration.
2. Of the Canons in orders, the greater part had voluntarily resigned their charges, and left the country to avoid persecution.
3. Of those who remained several were old men, who wished to spend their few remaining years in quiet, and would not incur the danger of a nomination to the Vicariate.
4. When Rovenius, by act^c of Nov. 9, 1633, established the Vicariate as the Metropolitan Chapter, the whole existing body of Canons gave^a a tacit consent; not one voice was raised in protest, and thus the strongest evidence was given of their agreement to the step.

^a That is, the Papal months, calculations during which had been given to himself.

^b In 1656, of eleven living Catho-

lic Canons, one only was a priest.

^c This act is given at length in Tract. Hist. i. 328.

The identity of this Vicariate with the Chapter is proved,—

1. By the acceptation of its nominees, either absolutely, or the acknowledgment of its right to nominate, by the Court of Rome down to the death of Codde.

2. By repeated and express acts of the Papal Nuncios.

The greater part of the first *Tractatus Historicus*, and its *Monumenta*, a masterpiece of laborious research, is occupied by such testimonies.

The last, as we have seen, is that of Bussi, June 21, 1702: “Indelebilis nota vestris tam præclaris capitulis inuretur.”

Broedersen amuses himself with collecting Hoyneck's various epochs for the destruction of the Chapter. He says, in different places, that it perished in 1580, in 1583, in 1589, in 1603, in 1625, and in 1680 !

APPENDIX IV.

a. SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN THE CHURCH OF HOLLAND SINCE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SCHISM.

Arch- bishop.	Name.	1. UTRECHT.		By whom consecrated.
		Consecrated.	Died.	
1	Cornelius Steenoven	Oct. 15, 1724	April 3, 1725	Dominic Varlet, Bishop of Babylon.
2	Cornelius John Barchman Wuytiers	Sept. 30, 1725	May 13, 1733	Dominic Varlet, Bishop of Babylon.
3	Theodore Van der Croon	Oct. 20, 1734	June 9, 1739	Dominic Varlet, Bishop of Babylon.
4	Peter John Meindaerts	Oct. 18, 1739	Oct. 31, 1767	Dominic Varlet, Bishop of Babylon.
5	Walter Michael Van Nieuwenhuisen	Feb. 7, 1768	April 14, 1797	John Van Stiphout, Bishop of Haarlem.
6	John Jacob Van Rhijn	July 5, 1797	June 24, 1808	Adrian John Broekman, Bishop of Haarlem.
7	Willibrord Van Os	April 24, 1814	Feb. 28, 1805	Gisbert de Jong, Bishop of Deventer.
8	John Van Santen	Nov. 13, 1825		John Bon, Bishop of Haarlem.
2. HAARLEM.				
1	Jerome de Boek	Sept. 2, 1742	Dec. 11, 1744	Meindaerts, Archbishop of Utrecht.
2	John Van Stiphout	July 11, 1745	Dec. 16, 1777	Meindaerts, Archbishop of Utrecht.
3	Adrian John Broekman	June 21, 1778	Nov. 28, 1800	Van Nieuwenhuisen, Archbishop of Utrecht.
4	John Nieuwenhuis	Oct. 28, 1801	Jan. 14, 1810	Van Rhijn, Archbishop of Utrecht.
5	John Bon	April 25, 1819	June 25, 1841	Van Os, Archbishop of Utrecht.
6	Henry John Van Buul	May 10, 1843		Van Santen, Archbishop of Utrecht.
3. DEVENTER.				
1	Bartholomew John Byevelt	Jan. 25, 1758	June 20, 1778.	Meindaerts, Archbishop of Utrecht.
2	Nicolas Nellemans	Oct. 28, 1778	May 5, 1805	Van Nieuwenhuisen, Abp. of Utrecht.
3	Gisbert de Jong	Nov. 7, 1805	July 9, 1824	Van Rhijn, Archbishop of Utrecht.
4	William Vet	Oct. 7, 1824	March 7, 1853	Bon, Bishop of Haarlem.
5	Herman Heykamp	July, 1854		Van Santen, Archbishop of Utrecht.

All these have been formally excommunicated by the Court of Rome, John Bon only excepted.

β. STATE OF THE CHURCH OF HOLLAND IN
1736 AND 1854.

DIOCESE.	DISTRICT.	1736.	1854.	PARISHES.	SOULS.
Utrecht	Utrecht . . .	6	3	}	2,000
	Amersfoort . . .	2	1		
	Hilversum . . .	1	1		
	Kuilenborg . . .	1	1		
	Vianen . . .	1			
	Polsbroek . . .	1			
Rhijnland	Leyden . . .	1	1	}	300
	Zoetermeer . . .	1			
	Roelevaartjes-veen	1			
Delfland	Delft . . .	2	1	}	
	's Gravenhage . . .	1	1		
	Rijswijk . . .	1			
	Eykenduinen . . .	1			
Schieland	Rotterdam . . .	2	2	}	1,000
	Schiedam . . .	1	1		
	Delftshaven . . .	1			
	Kralingen . . .	1			
Zuid-Holland.—	Dordrecht . . .	2	1	}	
	Gouda . . .	2	1		
	Schoonhoven . . .	1	1		
	Oudewater . . .	1	1		
	Briel . . .	1			
	Gorcum . . .	1			

DIOCESE OF HAARLEM.

Amsterdam . . .	8	2
Haarlem . . .	2	1
Zaandam . . .	1	1
Krommenie . . .	1	1
Aalsmeer . . .	1	1
Egmond . . .	1	1
Enkhuizen . . .	2	1
Helder . . .	1	1

DIOCESE OF LEEUWARDEN.

Leeuwarden . . .	1
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The Island of Noordstrand, in the Duchy of Sleswig.

7. NUMBER OF BAPTISMS IN THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT FROM 1763 TO 1851.

In the five years commencing	Utrecht.	Amersfoort.	Hilversum.	Kuilenborg.	Total.	Average per year.
1763	..	7	141	24	321	..
1768	..	22	126	25	292	58.4
1773	..	26	108	23	275	55
1778	..	19	120	28	280	56
1783	..	31	147	21	324	64.8
1788	..	20	109	23	287	57.4
1793	..	24	96	29	279	55.8
1798	..	35	56	19	265	53
1803	..	27	105	22	308	61.6
1808	..	32	80	19	270	54
1813	..	9	83	43	258	51.6
1818	..	6	93	32	274	54.8
1823	..	8	95	33	275	55
1828	..	16	70	31	283	56.6
1833	..	28	81	34	318	63.6
1838	..	30	98	35	342	68.4
1843	..	28	84	38	337	67.4
1848 to 1851, 4 years only	..	22	81	45	302	75.5

It follows from the above table that, so far from having diminished in numbers since 1763, the date of the Second Council of Utrecht, the so-called Jansenists have considerably increased; an increase the more remarkable when it is remembered that, as it is clear from the first table, they have lost eighteen parishes in the Archbishopric since 1736, of which some must certainly have existed beyond 1763. We may also learn that the numerical preponderance of the former table does not accurately present the proportionate numbers of those in communion with the Church of Utrecht. In Utrecht itself there were six parishes in 1736; in 1854 there are only three; yet the number of baptisms is considerably greater than in 1763.

8.

In the year 1763, as we have seen, the Chapter consisted of the following Canons :—

1. Bartholomew John Byevelt, Bishop of Deventer,	Died. 1778
2. Francis Meganck, Dean	1775
3. Nicolas de Wolff	1784
4. Sibrand Faber, Archdeacon	1771
5. Wynand Boniface van Sonsbeck	1768
6. Henry Joseph van Zeller	1772
7. Gerard Willibrord Kenens	1780
8. Nicolas van Maeren	1778

On the death of Archbishop Meindaerts, Oct. 31, 1767, the Canons appointed as Vicars-General—

Francis Meganck, Dean and
Sibrand Faber, Archdeacon.

1771. Sibrand Faber, Archdeacon, died; was succeeded by Nicolas van Maeren, as Archdeacon.
1775. Francis Meganck died; was succeeded by Nicolas de Wolff, as Dean.
1778. Nicolas van Maeren died; was succeeded by Jacob Cornelius de Groot, as Archdeacon.
1784. Nicolas de Wolff died; was succeeded by John Baptist Eugenius van Gyselinck, as Dean.
1792. Jacob Cornelius de Groot died; was succeeded by Timothy de Jongh, as Archdeacon.

On the death of Archbishop Van Nieuwenhuisen, April 24th, 1797, the Chapter consisted of—

1. John Baptist Eugenius Gyselinck, Dean	Died. 1800
2. Nicolas Nellemans, Bishop of Deventer	1805
3. Timothy de Jongh, Archdeacon	1818
4. John Jacob van Rhijn	1808
5. Peregrinus van Kalken	?
6. Arnold Kabout	1804
7. William Boshuisen	?
8. Willibrord van Os	1825

They elected as Vicars-General, (April 20th, 1797,) John Baptist Eugenius Gyselinck, Dean, and John Jacob van Rhijn.

1800. John Baptist Eugenius Gyselinck died; was succeeded by Timothy de Jongh, as Dean; and he by Cornelius de Jong, as Archdeacon.

On the death of Archbishop Van Rhijn, June 24, 1808, the Chapter consisted of—

	Died.
1. Timothy de Jongh, Dean . . .	1818
2. Gisbert de Jong, Bishop of Deventer . .	1824
3. Willibrord van Os . . .	1825
4. William Boshuisen . . .	?
5. Bernard Knijter . . .	1830
6. Cornelius de Jong, Archdeacon . .	1828
7. John Schelling . . .	1819
8. John van Santen

They appointed, June 28, 1808, as Vicars-General, Gisbert de Jong, Bishop of Deventer, and Willibrord van Os.

At the election of Willibrord van Os, Feb. 10, 1814, the Chapter was the same as at the death of Archbishop Van Rhijn, except that William Boshuisen had been succeeded by Godfrey Spruijt.

1818. Timothy de Jongh died; was succeeded by Cornelius de Jong, as Dean; and he by Arnold Stanislaus van Werckhoven, as Archdeacon.

On the death of Archbishop Van Os, the Chapter consisted of—

	Died.
1. Cornelius de Jong, Dean . . .	1828
2. William Vet, Bishop of Deventer . .	1853
3. Bernard Knijter . . .	1830
4. John van Santen . . .	?
5. Godfrey Spruijt . . .	1833
6. Arnold Stanislaus van Werckhoven . .	1852
7. Arand Rottereel . . .	1837
8. William de Wit . . .	1828

They appointed as Vicars-General—

William Vet, Bishop of Deventer, and
John van Santen.

1828. Cornelius de Jong died; was succeeded by William Vet, Bishop of Deventer, as Dean.

1853. Arnold Stanislaus van Werckhoven died; his office of Archdeacon not filled up.

1853. William Vet, Bishop of Deventer, died; was succeeded as Dean by Gerard Spet.

On the 14th of December, 1857, the Chapter consisted of—

1. Gerard Spet, Dean.
2. Herman Heykamp, Bishop of Deventer.
3. Gerard van der Weyde.
4. Henry de Jongh.
5. Peter van Wijk.
6. Nicolas Bikker.
7. Henry Loos.
8. Cornelius John Mulder.

The Chapter of Haarlem, though it still exists, so carefully conceals the names of those who compose it, in order not to excite Ultramontane censures, that I cannot learn the names of any of its canons. A doubt has been even expressed to me by an eminent ecclesiastic of the National Church, whether, since the promulgation of the Bull *Ex quâ die*, this Chapter is likely to perpetuate itself any longer.

For the above list I am indebted to the Abbé Harsten, one of the many obligations which the present volume owes to his unwearied kindness.

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169.

ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.

- Page 27, last line, *for* "setter-up" *read* "getter-up."
- 30, l. 19, ,, "governors" ,, "minority."
- 31, l. 1, ,, "services" ,, "the former."
- 33, l. 8, ,, "composed" ,, "engaged in."
- , l. 31, ,, "Clement IX." ,, "Clement X."
- 37, l. 25, ,, "Passant" ,, "Passart."
- 42, side-note, ,, "dilated" ,, "delated."
68. This note spread to a length so utterly disproportionate to its connexion with the history, that I thought better to omit it.
- 106, l. 26, *for* "Museus" *read* "Musius."
- 141, l. 9, ,, "Huessen" ,, "Huissen."
- 148, l. 9, ,, "1622" ,, "1628."
- 151, l. 17 ,, "Forest" ,, "Voorst."
- 166, l. 15 ,, "Clement VII." ,, "Clement X."
172. This account of Noordstrand is not perfectly accurate. It had for a long period been tenanted by a colony of Dutch: originally planted there to keep up, and attend to, the dykes: hence Van Cort's idea. A remnant of the National Church remains there still. (*Schets*, p. 21.)
- 191, l. 1, *for* "five" *read* "three."
- 196, l. 12, ,, "Van der Meer" ,, "Van der Mey."
- 201, l. 6, ,, "Haarlem" ,, "Amsterdam."
- 229, note, ,, "Amiens" ,, "Amida."
231. The date of this *Instruction* ought to have been given, constituting, as it does, the formal commencement of the schism. It was Jan. 13, 1711.
- 240, l. 1, *for* "Van Erkel" *read* "Van Heussen."
- , l. 10, ,, "Decretalens" ,, "Decretalem."
- 244, l. 10, The apparent contradiction of dates is explained, if the reader will remember that, in the Uniat Church, *old style* was used.
- 255, l. 3, *for* *sc.* *read* *si.*
- 274, l. 20. It ought to have been mentioned that Van Espen, believing his residence at Maestricht unsafe, had taken up his abode at Amersfoort.
- 321, l. 13. Bishop Byevelt alone was a Canon. The deficient name is made up by Van Maeren, one of the secretaries of the Synod.
- 403, l. 17, *for* "Harsten" *read* "Karsten."

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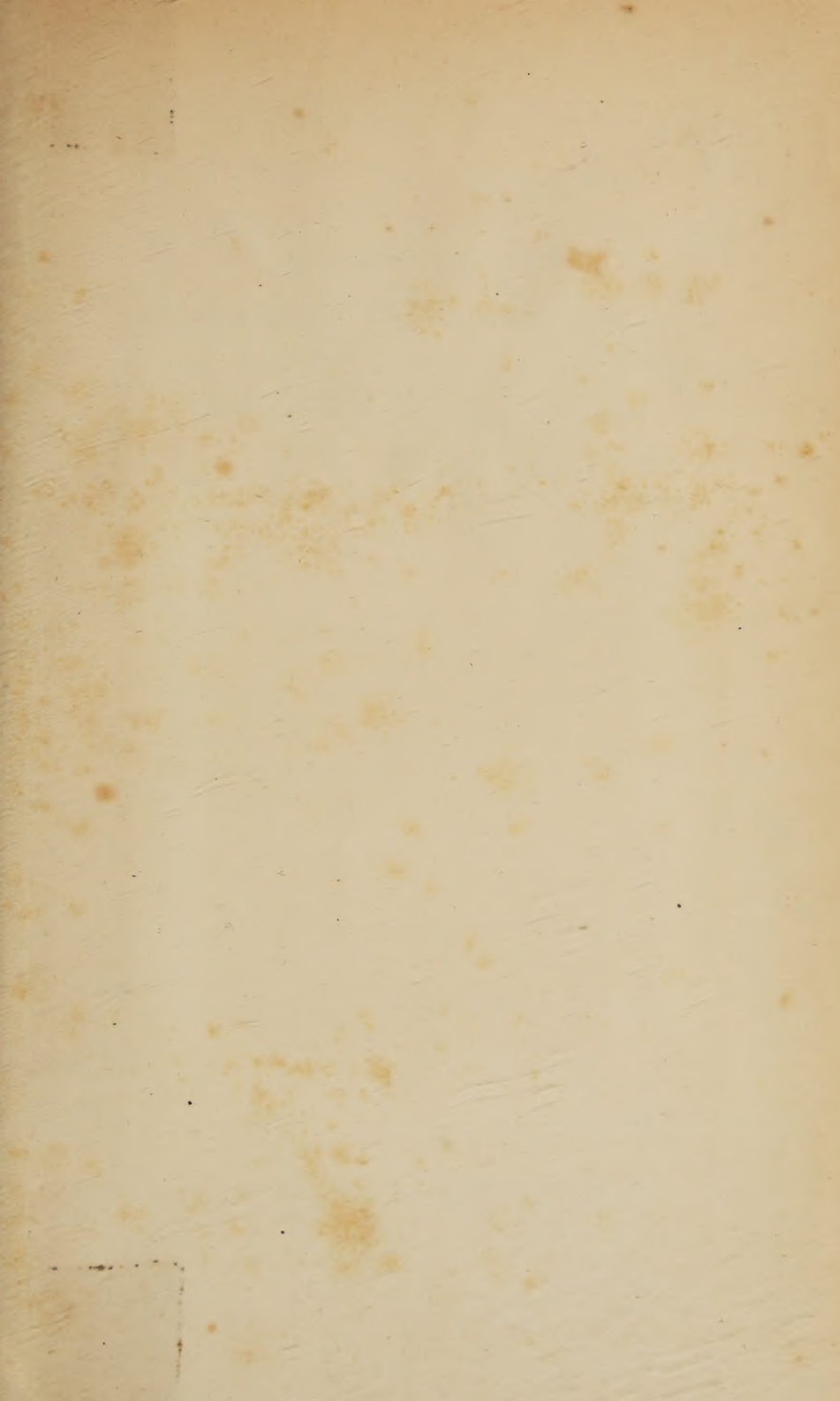
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